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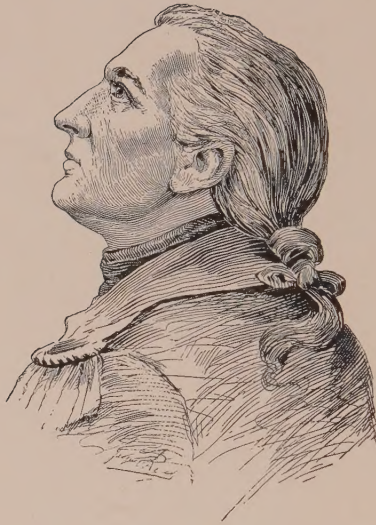
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John Paterson M^gent.

GENERAL PATERSON

FROM THE MONMOUTH BATTLE MONUMENT AT FREEHOLD, NEW JERSEY

Frontispiece

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN PATERSON

MAJOR-GENERAL
IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

BY
HIS GREAT-GRANDSON

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ILLUSTRATED

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

NEW YORK


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PREFACE.

As far back as I can recollect, the exploits of General Paterson, associated with those of my grandfather, were the subject of constant stories from my father to all his children, which we were never tired of hearing. We wanted the stories repeated over and over again, and sometimes would not be content without hearing them three or four times in succession. Before graduating at Yale College in 1854 I wished to know more about these two men, and was surprised to find so very few records of their services and to ascertain that they had been almost forgotten in Berkshire County, Mass., where they both had lived. I wished then to resuscitate their memories, but the battle of life which had commenced made it necessary for me to attend to other things. On returning to this country on a visit in 1857 I made a search in Lenox, the result of which was finding considerable records of my grandfather but only a very few of General Paterson.*

In 1875, being called upon to furnish the details relating to both of them necessary for the speech of Judge Rockwell at the Centennial in Lenox on the 4th of July of 1876, I was astonished when all that was known was put together to find how meager that knowledge was. I at once made up my mind to follow out what clues I had, and to write out what information I could then obtain, but it made only a few pages of manuscript. Some years later I endeavored to have the remains of General Paterson and his wife removed to Lenox, which resulted, however, at that time, in failure to obtain the consent of the heirs.

* A notice of Major Egleston was published by the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, vol. xxiii., July, 1892.

In the year 1886 I put up in Trinity Church in Lenox, Mass., tablets to the memory of General Paterson and Major Egles-ton. After they were up and a great deal of public interest had been shown in them, I commenced a series of systematic searches in the libraries of New York, Albany, Hartford, Worcester, and Boston, with a determination to honor the memory of my two grandfathers in a more conspicuous way, with a satisfactory result. I also determined to make another effort to have the remains of General Paterson removed to Lenox, which was finally successful.

When the work was begun I had no other idea than of writing a short biographical sketch of General Paterson, but with the inquiry which became necessary, on account of the loss of his papers by the burning of his house in 1809, the subject has expanded into a book. All that was known of General Paterson at the time these searches were commenced is contained in the brief sketch of him made in Judge Rockwell's Centennial address at Lenox in the year 1876. He had become one of Massachusetts' lost heroes.* This will sufficiently account for the fragmentary character of the information that it has been possible to obtain.†

If his papers had not been burned much more would have been found; but while the long and laborious search has resulted in finding comparatively little, much of this has never before been published, and is valuable not only as throwing light upon the character of the man, but also as illustrating the peculiarities of the times in which he bore so prominent a part while he was both advocating and defending the liberties of this country. His efforts to build up the State of Massachusetts, and especially his own county of Berkshire and the

* In July, 1890, Mr. W. H. Lee, of New York, published a paper in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* on the life of General Paterson.

† In March, 1892, I distributed among the committees and persons who were to take part in the ceremonies of the unveiling of the monument a pamphlet of seventy pages on the life of General Paterson. Copies of it were also given at that time to the representatives of the Press. All of these were recalled in October of that year.

town of Lenox, have also been pointed out. The whole book shows very clearly the high character that he always maintained in the three States in which he lived.

I have to acknowledge the courtesy of the librarians of the various libraries where the searches have been made, and of the custodian of the Massachusetts State Archives in the State House in Boston, for allowing me access to the books and manuscripts under their charge; and also of a number of collectors of autographs in permitting me to take copies of their papers. I am especially indebted to Professor Johnston of the College of the City of New York, who has not only given me a large amount of information, but has advised and assisted me in every way in making the searches that were necessary, and has aided me in the revision of part of the proof. I am also indebted for the active interest of the committee appointed by the town of Lenox, for the success of the celebration at the unveiling of the monument, and to many others who have assisted me in endeavoring to do honor to the memory of this Revolutionary patriot and hero.

THOMAS EGGLESTON.

SCHOOL OF MINES, COLUMBIA COLLEGE,
New York, May 1, 1894.

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MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN PATERSON.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY.

THE Patersons were some of the earliest settlers of Wethersfield, Connecticut. It appears on the records of that town that 1704-1722
"Mr. James Paterson and Mrs. Mary Talcott were married on the thirtieth day of November Anno Domini 1704, by Mr. Stephen Mix, minister." She was the widow of Samuel Talcott, who died in Wethersfield, April 28, 1698, a cousin of Joseph Talcott, who was at a later period governor of the colony. They came from Dumfriesshire, where the family had been a prominent one for a considerable period. William Paterson, who was born in 1660, founded the Bank of England in 1692, and was a member of Parliament in 1708. He died in 1719.* In 1705 James Paterson was chosen "Lister" (Assessor) of the town of Wethersfield, and in 1707 he was chosen Townsman (Selectman). He was one of "the prudential committee of the church" in 1718, and in 1722 was one of "the seating committee." Their son John was born on

* It was this William Paterson who wrote nearly two hundred years ago: "If the maritime powers of Europe will not treat for Darien, the period is not far distant when America will seize the pass. Their next move will be to hold the Sandwich Islands. Stationed thus in the middle, and on the east and west sides of the New World, Americans will form the most potent and singular empire that has appeared, because it will consist not in the dominion of a part of the land of the globe, but in the dominion of the whole ocean. . . . Then England may be known only as Egypt is now."

1704-1758 February 14, 1707-8.* Mrs. Paterson died on September 28, 1712. At one time he lived on East Street, New Britain, and then in Wethersfield. Soon after his wife's death he removed to the west part of the parish of Newington. In May, 1732, he with other inhabitants of Farmington petitioned to have a committee appointed "to lay out roads and highways to relieve the difficulty of going to public worship." His tombstone in Newington, where he always attended church, records that he died December 2, 1750, aged eighty-six years.†

His son John removed to Farmington and lived in that part of the town which is now known as New Britain, and was one of the three families who settled the town. He received a liberal education, and was a man of uncommon ability and refinement. On January 28, 1730-1, he married Ruth Bird, daughter of Joseph Bird of Farmington, by whom he had four daughters and one son:

Mary, born December 5, 1731, at Farmington. She married John Peirce of Litchfield on April 18, 1751.

Sarah, born June 13, 1734, at Farmington. She married James Lusk of Farmington on December 30, 1754.

Anne, born December 27, 1736, at Farmington. She married Rev. Stephen Holmes of Essex, Conn., on January 24, 1759.

Ruth, born June 16, 1739, at Farmington. She married Jedediah Strong of Litchfield on April 7, 1774. She died October 3, 1777.

John, born at Farmington in 1744. He married Elizabeth Lee at Farmington on June 2, 1766.

John Paterson was a very religious man. At the first meeting of "The New Britain Ecclesiastical Society," "warned according to ye direction of ye law," held June 13, 1754, Captain John Paterson was chosen one of "the prudential committee."

* In the old records the dates are given as 1707-8, which, according to the present method of reckoning, means 1708. By the old system the year began on the 25th of March. All the records up to 1752 gave the date between January 1 and March 25 in this way, or else they ignore the new arrangement and call the year 1707 until March 25th.

† See Appendix A.

He was made deacon of the church in Farmington in 1758, soon after its incorporation. He appears to have been a considerable holder of real estate, to have owned some slaves,* and to have been a man of great refinement and of the highest probity and honor. In May, 1756, as agent for the parish of New Britain he sent in a memorial showing the state of all the unimproved lands in that township, and praying the Assembly to grant a tax of one penny on each unimproved acre. The directions of his will† required that his son should be carefully educated. His residence was still standing in 1863. 1758-1762

He had shown from boyhood a decided taste for military life, and had enlisted as a private in one of the train bands of Farmington, and was very soon selected for promotion. In May, 1738, he was commissioned as ensign in the 5th Company of the train band of Farmington. In October, 1741, he was commissioned lieutenant in the 2d Company of Kensington Parish. In May, 1746, he was commissioned second lieutenant of the 4th Company in the expedition against Canada. In October, 1752, he was made captain of the 13th Company of the 6th Regiment of foot. In March, 1755, and 1756, he was again made captain. In March, 1756, he was "appointed major of the 1st Regiment resolved to be raised by the colony to proceed on an expedition against Crown Point, and it is ordered that he be commissioned accordingly." He was at the same time captain of the 3d Company of the 3d Regiment. As this company was raised for that expedition, it was disbanded after it was over. He was again appointed captain in the 1st Regiment in 1759, 1760, 1761, and 1762. He assisted in the capture of Canada under Sir Jeffrey Amherst, and was with Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham. There were many grades of military service in those days. It often happened that persons holding a higher rank in the train bands or in the service of the colony held a lower one in the king's service,

* His slaves when they died were buried on the high ground back of his house, where, in 1849, during the construction of the railroad, two graves were opened and one skull disinterred.

† See Appendix B.

1759-1761 as this service was always considered a much higher honor; and thus in March, 1759, it is recorded that "Major John Paterson is appointed captain." While doing duty as a military man he did not neglect civil duties. He was made justice of the peace and quorum* in 1756, and held the office until 1762. At some time he appears to have held a commission as colonel, for he is mentioned as Colonel John Paterson, but the date of that commission has not been found.

He had already shown such military ability, and been such a brilliant and efficient officer, that when the French and Indian War was threatened he was given a captain's commission in the British army of the colonies under General Wolfe, and served with great distinction both against the French and Indians.

From 1746 to 1762 he was in the service of the crown, and was distinguished for his personal bravery, his high sense of honor, and his skill in the command of men. He was one of the best and most loyal officers in the royal service and in maintaining its supremacy in the American provinces. He was equally prominent as a citizen, and held many civil offices and positions of trust. He was always, as his record shows, equally active and efficient in civil as he was in military affairs, and ready to offer his services to the State whenever they were required. The submission of Canada to England did not stop hostilities, and in 1761 a fleet under the command of Admiral Pocock, with an army composed of eighteen battalions of British and Provincial troops, was sent under the supreme command of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who was then Governor-General of the British possessions in America, to take Martinique and the other French islands in the Caribbean Sea, and as Spain and England were unfriendly at that period, it was proposed to take the Spanish West Indian Islands at the same time. The army was under the command of Lord Albemarle, who had under him eleven companies of the 1st Regi-

* This term was formerly used to designate certain justices of the peace, the presence of at least one of whom was necessary for the lawful transaction of business.

ment, or 1000 men from Connecticut, 500 from New Jersey, 1762 and 300 from New York, under command of Major-General Lyman. It arrived off Havana on June 6, 1762, in 200 transports. John Paterson was ordered to this expedition as captain in the king's forces in command of a company of 100 picked men from Farmington and Wethersfield. He served in this campaign as paymaster.* He went, accompanied by his faithful negro London, who was his body-servant. They took Havana, but the climate was so fatal that not half of the men of his company ever returned. After serving his country and his king for twenty-four years Major Paterson fell a victim to the yellow fever, and died during the expedition, on the 5th of September, 1762, aged fifty-four, and thus ended the career of one of the most brilliant of the colonial military men. During the whole of his life there was little to disturb the relations between the mother-country and the colonies. The French and Indian wars kept both fully occupied. Connecticut had her charter, obtained by Lord Clarendon and granted by Charles II. in 1662. She had always elected her own governors, and had few of them. George II. only thought of hindering the development of the colonies for fear of their competing with England. George III. had not yet been on the throne two years, and was just commencing to devise how he might impose on the colonies, when this loyal and brave soldier fell.

John, his son, and the subject of this sketch, was born in 1744 in Farmington. He was fitted for college in his native town, and graduated at Yale College in 1762; † the year after, the order was given to issue "writs of assistance," which gave to the revenue officers of the lowest rank the right to enter any private house to search for smuggled goods, which aroused such indignation everywhere; and the same year that Governor Bernard ordered the Massachusetts Assembly to pay four hundred pounds which he had expended without their authority, and which they refused to do. On his gradu-

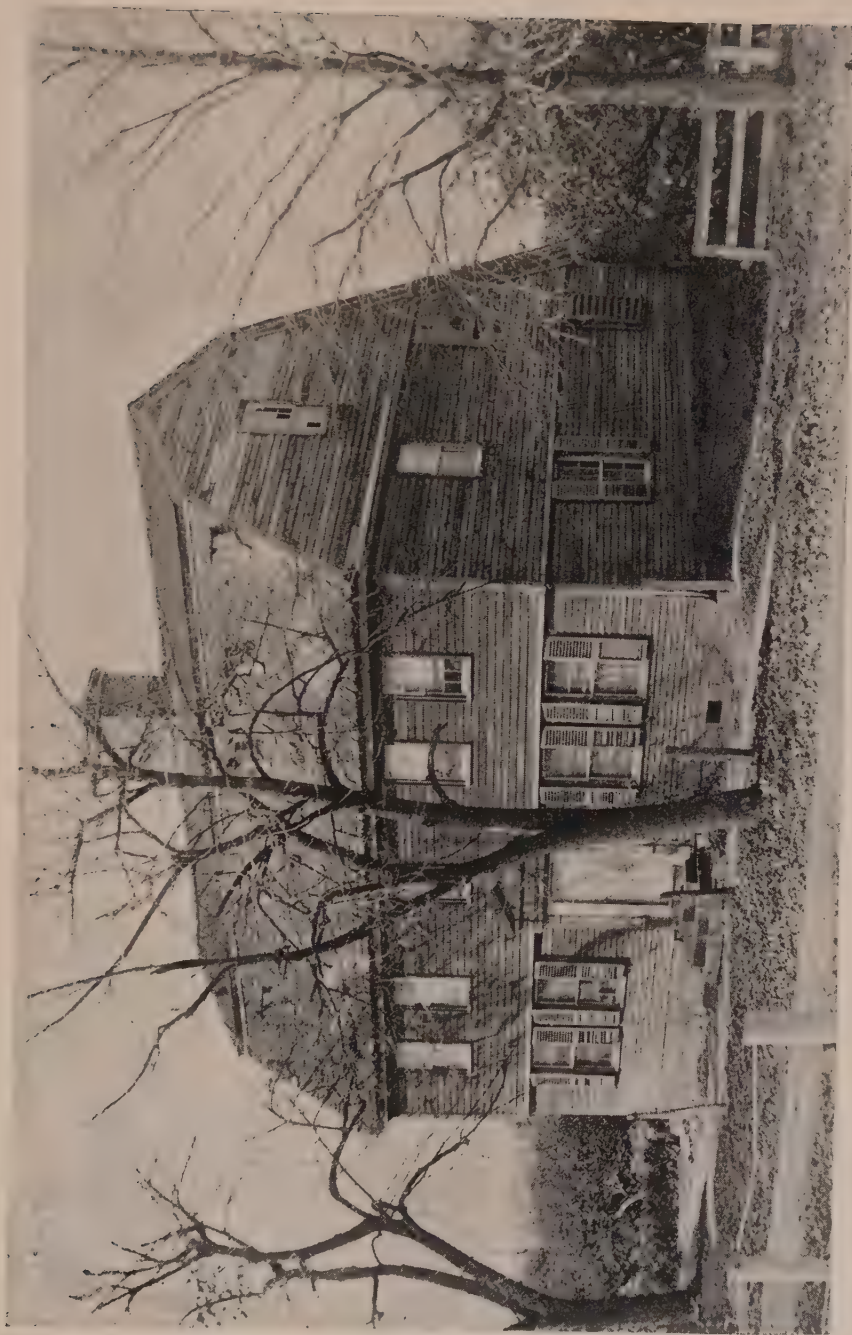
* See Appendix C.

† His father directed in his will that he should have a collegiate education. See Appendix B.

1762-1767 ation he returned to New Britain, to the home of his parents on the north end of East Street. A few weeks afterward he received the news of the death of his father at Havana, and at once decided to remain at home with his mother and youngest sister, Ruth. He was then just eighteen years of age, and as the only son the care of his father's family fell upon him. He gave some time to the settlement of his father's affairs and the duties of the estate, but soon carried out his purpose of studying law. While engaged in preparation for legal practice he taught school for several seasons. His neighbors were the Judds, the Lees, the Smiths, and Dr. Smalley, and in these families he found pleasant and congenial acquaintances. Oliver Ellsworth, LL.D., afterward chief-justice of the United States, and Nathaniel Emmons, D.D., an eminent theologian, were students with Dr. Smalley during this time. They were both a year younger than Paterson, but were among his intimate friends.*

He commenced the practice of law in New Britain, though still teaching in the public school a part of the year. Very soon after he commenced practice he was made justice of the peace. He was married by Dr. Smalley on June 2, 1766, to Elizabeth, only child of Josiah and Hannah (Warren) Lee, of Farmington, who was born in 1749. They "owned the covenant" January 25, 1767. She was an attractive lady, in all respects fitted to encourage the young lawyer and to be the wife of the future general and judge, who did so much for the early history of this country. She was in many respects a remarkable woman. Those times were well fitted to make heroines of the women as well as heroes of the men, and there were many of them. Mrs. Paterson was always at her husband's right hand, whether it was to roll cartridges for the soldiers, to help prepare uniforms to give them a suitable appearance, to encourage them to enlist for the defense of their rights, to receive his friends and entertain them, and to see that his household, whether he was a general, a representative of the State or the nation, or a judge on the bench,

* "History of New Britain," by D. N. Camp.



HOUSE IN FARMINGTON, CONN., IN WHICH MRS. PATERSON WAS BORN
BUILT PREVIOUS TO 1780, AS IT APPEARED IN 1892

was always well ordered. She outlived him many years, and died at the age of ninety-two, in the year 1841. 1767

He soon became distinguished in his profession. They continued to live at his father's old homestead until 1774. Early in that year he removed to Lenox, Berkshire County, Mass., with his family, his father-in-law accompanying him.

There had up to this time been no cause for complaint in Connecticut. The people there were keenly alive to what was going on in Massachusetts, and waited eagerly for news of what was passing there. By the time that the news of the Boston tea party had reached Farmington he had made up his mind to remove to Lenox. It is not known what attracted him to the town. It may have been that among the people living there was a General Joseph Paterson, whose name appears on the town records of Lenox as early as January, 1765, or it may have been his desire to be on the frontier. He became at once identified with the interests of that town, and his abilities as a leader of men were soon recognized. Almost as soon as he arrived he was chosen Clerk of the Propriety.

On March 22, 1774, the following record appears in the book of the Lenox proprietors: "Voted and chosen Mr. John Paterson Clerk of said Propriety, whereupon the following oath was administered to him by Mr. Justin Brown: Whereas you, Mr. John Paterson, are chosen Clerk of the Proprietors of this district of Lenox, you do swear that you will enter all the votes, grant orders that shall be legally passed by said Proprietors, in the Book for that purpose, and in all things relating to your Office will act faithfully and impartially, according to your best will and judgment. So help you God." When the town was formed he was elected to represent it in the session of the Great and General Court to be held in May, 1774. He was made a selectman and assessor of the town, and was re-elected the following year.

The history of Lenox is a very short but interesting one. Berkshire was set off from Hampshire County by the General Court in May, 1761. On February 26, 1767, Governor Fran-

1767 cis Bernard signed a bill to incorporate the easterly part of the town of Richmond into a district called Lenox. It was not to be a town, and did not become so until later, as the towns were entitled to send representatives to the General Court, and the districts were not. Its first town meeting was held on March 11th. The two towns held joint meetings nearly a year longer. The proprietors of Lenox maintained an independent organization within the district of Lenox, so that for a time there are three records and for about seven years a double record of the town, that of the proprietors and of the district. These were generally merged into those of the district. Mr. John Paterson was the last Clerk of the Propriety. He was sworn in, but made no entry in the book.

The great majority of those who settled the county came from the Connecticut Valley in both Massachusetts and Connecticut, some from eastern Massachusetts, and a few from Rhode Island. They were a shrewd, hardy race, well educated for those days, accustomed to think for themselves, but having a great deference for authority, paying great respect to rank as well as official position. "Fear God and honor the king" applied not only to "his gracious Majesty" but to all his officials. They had a charter; they respected it; they demanded that it should be respected. When they had grievances, to them the proper manner to find redress was to carry the matters to the throne, and there they loyally carried them. It was only when they began fully to appreciate that remonstrances did not bring redress, but that encroachments were constantly made on their chartered rights, and when they saw them going little by little, that they commenced to realize that their charter might disappear altogether, and that they began to say among themselves, "The king hath two superiors: his Heavenly King and his own law;" the simple assertion of which truism showed how deep the discontent was. Notwithstanding this, they loved, as it was their religious duty to do, "the king and all the royal family," and they were proud to bear any office under the government of Great Britain; but there was a spirit of respect for independence of principle

which made criticisms of the conduct of the government not very dangerous to the "liberties of America," but a constant menace to their loyalty to the king. 1767

The history of the causes which produced the war of the Revolution is much more easily traced than those which have produced revolutions in other countries. It seems at first a little singular that a people proud of their origin and devotedly loyal to their sovereign should all at once refuse to recognize his authority and demand complete separation from the mother-country. The American Revolution may almost be said to be the struggle which put an end to the idea that the people were made for their rulers, which up to that time had been the prevailing idea of kings and nobles.

Since 1675 the government of the colonies had been in the hands of a committee of the privy council known as the Lords of Trade. They looked on the colonies very much as the noblemen of those days regarded their great landed estates, and on the colonists as the laborers who were working them for the greatest advantage of the mother-country. They therefore considered the resources of the colonies solely as a means of increasing the public revenue, and on themselves as the only authority for ordering how this was to be accomplished. It is only when the actions of this body are regarded in this light that they can be understood or explained. All the governors sent frequent and full reports of every detail relating to both public and private affairs to the Board of Trade. With the exception of Pennsylvania and Maryland, where they were hereditary, and Connecticut and Rhode Island, where they were elected by the people, the governors of the colonies were appointed by that board. As they represented the crown, they on all occasions assumed the prerogatives of the crown; and as in those days the people had but few rights, the governors were apt to take it for granted that any attempts on the part of the people to assert any of their rights were the assumptions of a stiff-necked and rebellious people, and they so represented it to the authorities in the mother-country. The people, on the other hand, had always

1767 discussed their public business in town meetings and popular assemblies, and had had such control over the conduct of their own affairs that they were in reality the freest people of those times. They elected their own representatives to their assemblies, and maintained that it was their right to do so. The governors, however, asserted that this was a concession on the part of the crown and not a right. They therefore commenced to grant the privilege in some cases and refuse it in others, but this created so much irritation that they were obliged finally to give up the practice.

The people were most loyal, but the only representation of them made to the crown was that of constant opposition to the royal (governor's) will, and hence the entire misconception of both the people themselves and their acts. They were all free Englishmen, and because they were free they resented unlawful and arbitrary acts. The governors assumed the royal prerogative, but the people, when the governors overstepped what they considered to be their constitutional authority, refused to allow them to act, or to vote the necessary supplies. As the result of this unwarranted assumption on the one side and the constant opposition to it on the other, there were few in England, even among those who had lived a long time in the colonies, who were capable of understanding the state of affairs there, since they were for the most part represented by one party only. In England the opinions disseminated were of those who were in sympathy with the government officers and held their views of the delegation of the royal prerogative. This state of things led to the formation of organizations on the part of the people for mutual conference, and a great desire on the part of the authorities to break them up and to make a union of all the colonies under the head of a governor-general to be appointed by the king.

In 1754 the danger of war with the French led to the calling of a congress at Albany to present a plan of operations against the French. During the sessions of this congress the idea of a congress of all the colonies was earnestly advocated, but it came to nothing; only the seed was sown which was

afterward to grow. The idea of the government and of 1767 the governors was, that such a union would lessen the expense of conducting the government and concentrate the power in the hands of a single individual. The idea of the people was, that with a union and representative assemblies they would be protected. The government meant despotism, the people meant freedom; and hence there was not only no union of purpose, but an impossibility of immediately carrying out any plan which looked toward a union of the colonies in a general congress in which the interests of all should be represented.

While the people recognized that from a military point of view such a union as the governors proposed would be an excellent arrangement, from their point of view they saw just as clearly that it would break up the local self-government of each colony, and they would not listen to any plan which would in any way jeopardize or even interfere with it. The idea of a union of the colonies was first proposed in 1701 in New York, and had been repeatedly before the Lords of Trade, but no plan had been suggested which was acceptable both to the people and the authorities. But the idea of a union of some kind had been more or less a definite one in the minds of all the statesmen of those days. The people refused to be taxed without their own consent. They declined to vote salaries and supplies when the government *ordered* them to do so, but they cheerfully voted them when left to their own free will. They willingly agreed to make a contribution for the support of the English government, but they declined to be taxed to support it. Up to the accession of George III., in 1760, the relations of the colonies and the mother-country had been friendly. They would have been entirely peaceful but for the struggles with New France. The people were loyal, and the government, on account of its relations with France, did not think it wise to do anything which would, directly or indirectly, irritate them. Slight friction there was, as there always will be among people who are governed from such long distances. The common object among the colonies was in some way to form a union to protect themselves from the In-

1760-1765 dians and from New France, but there had been no serious cause of complaint with the home government for nearly one hundred years. George III. came to the throne in the year 1760. He seems from his youth to have imbibed a prejudice against the colonies, and commenced at once a series of oppressive measures which created dissatisfaction and aroused opposition on the part of the colonies. The antagonism really commenced in 1761, when the people resisted the search-warrants, denied the authority of the king and Parliament to tax them without their consent, while they were willing to vote taxes in their own legislatures and were glad to bear their part in carrying on the affairs of the great empire of which they were proud to be a part. Notwithstanding the repeated assertions that no taxes could be levied on the colonies except by their legislatures, the lords determined to tax them. In 1764 Parliament voted to raise a revenue from the colonies by means of a Stamp Act. In drawing the act the only limit to their measures seems to have been how far it would be safe to extort money from the colonies without creating a rebellion. Remonstrances at once were sent from all the colonies; every one of them took the ground that unless they were represented and had a vote in Parliament that body had no right to tax them. They were willing to contribute their quota if it was requested in the king's name, and when so asked they would gladly vote it, but Parliament had no right to tax them.

These remonstrances were of no avail. Early in 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, and was received with the tolling of bells and every sign of indignation. Virginia was the first to defy it. The people had grown used to the expression of their opinions, and when, on May 29, 1765, Patrick Henry said, "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell, and George the Third may profit by their examples," the cry of treason which immediately followed from the king's supporters found no echo. The other colonies followed. There had never been any curtailment of the freedom of speech, and they were accustomed to denounce oppression. A general congress to protest was called for the 7th of October. Nine colonies were

represented, and those who did not come sent their cordial 1765-1768 approval. Secret societies, called the Sons of Liberty, were formed to resist the law. They burned the stamp officers in effigy, they compelled them to resign, and in a few instances the mob destroyed their property. The stamps were thrown into the sea or burned. Lawyers agreed not to notice the absence of the stamp on any legal documents. The act was repealed. The news was received with all the demonstrations of joy. An address of thanks was voted to the king, and every manifestation of loyalty was made, and for two or three years there was quiet. But in repealing the Stamp Act Parliament had asserted its right to make laws binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever," and in 1767 they proceeded to tax them, and among other things they taxed tea.

The people saw another Stamp Act. They had no representation, and they refused to be taxed except by their own legislatures. Massachusetts sent circular letters to all the assemblies, addresses were made to the ministry, and a petition dispatched to the king. Governor Bernard represented the movement, which was unanimous in all the colonies, as the action of a few demagogues. The ministry threatened to dissolve all the assemblies who should agree with Massachusetts, and directed the governors to suspend any legislature which should refuse to vote according to their will.

The king, receiving the petition with contempt, declared it an act of open rebellion; and so matters went on, until a secretary of state threatened to suspend all the legislative bodies in the colonies. The colonies received the news with scorn. At last the crown determined to send troops to Boston, the chief city of the most rebellious of the colonies. In February, 1768, the General Court of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to all the sister-colonies, asking them to unite in measures to oppose the aggressions of the mother-country, but no action was taken on it. Governor Bernard required the General Court to rescind this letter. Ninety-two members refused to rescind; seventeen voted to comply, and at once became odious throughout the entire province under the nickname of

1768 the "Rescinders"; but some of these men afterward became distinguished patriots and great leaders in the war. But while they resolved "that King George the Third is our rightful king, and that we will bear true allegiance to him," they did not hesitate to send such resolves to the governor as made him apprehensive of the result. On June 10, 1768, the sloop *Liberty* was seized without a warrant by the revenue officers for an alleged violation of the customs, which was not proven. Impressment of citizens was commencing to be common. Against this the people protested, but it was of no use. The affair was misrepresented to the English government, the people were declared to be lawless, martial law was threatened, and it was decided to send troops to Boston and make an example of her, and to grant the colonists nothing "except what they may ask with a halter round their necks." In September, 1768, it was announced that the troops were to arrive. The governor was asked to convene the assembly and decide how to receive them. He refused. The selectmen of Boston then notified all the towns of Massachusetts to send delegates to a convention to be held in that city in order to deliberate about it. Ninety-six towns sent delegates, who paid no attention to the governor's order to disperse, and showed how the colony could legislate for itself in the absence of a regular legislature. The law compelled the soldiers to be quartered in the regular barracks, which were at Castle William in the harbor, and made it a severe offense to quarter troops anywhere else until this was filled. When quarters were asked by the commanding officer, he was shown the law. He could do nothing, and the soldiers were actually quartered in tents on the Common. As the governor was determined to have the troops within easy call they remained in the tents until it was so cold that the officers were compelled to hire quarters at high rates at the expense of the crown. They were encamped there seventeen months, and during this time six persons were killed by the soldiers, and this fact was sent to England exaggerated into a massacre. But after a trial in Boston lasting seven months, all the soldiers who had been arrested

were acquitted, except two, who were sentenced to only a slight punishment, their defenders being John Adams and Josiah Quincy, so determined were the people not to find a cause of offense against the crown. The General Court met in Boston, according to the charter, in the month of May. They immediately demanded of the governor the removal of the soldiers and of the ships in the harbor while they were in session. This the governor was powerless to do, so he removed the session to Cambridge, as they refused to transact business when surrounded by an armed force. 1768-1773

The forbearance but determination of the people, and the growing dissatisfaction, made Parliament in the spring of 1769 repeal all the duties except the one upon tea, which yielded only three hundred pounds sterling per annum. They recalled Governor Bernard to satisfy the colonies, but made a knight of him to show how thoroughly in sympathy they were with him, and appointed as governor Hutchinson, a native of Massachusetts, and a man of great learning. He was a sincere man, and had been, previous to the commencement of the trouble, elected to almost all the offices in the gift of his colony. In Stamp Act times he had favored the royal government and incurred the bitter hatred of the people. He was recalled in 1774. His appointment as governor was one of the most oppressive of the many unwise acts done by Parliament at this time. They might better have left Governor Bernard. The troops remained through the year 1769. They led loose lives. They scandalized the people, besides annoying them. In September they assaulted James Otis, so that he finally lost his reason. In March, 1770, the firing on the people, by which several were killed and others wounded, led to the demand for the complete withdrawal of the troops from Boston. This was done by such a popular uprising and was made in such a peremptory way that the order was complied with before sundown, and the troops were withdrawn to Castle William. They were encamped for seventeen months in Boston, notwithstanding that their presence was odious to the people, and their withdrawal was only politic. There had been

1770-1772 but few collisions. The withdrawal of the troops served to divide the colonists. Many thought this concession enough, but the majority were not satisfied with concessions, they demanded their rights. In July, 1770, New York withdrew from the non-importation agreement which it had agreed to in 1765, as it was against their interest to keep it, and in July they sent orders to England for all sorts of merchandise except tea. The letter of the New York merchants announcing it was received everywhere with the greatest indignation. In Boston it was torn in pieces at a public meeting, in New Jersey it was burned on the village green, and the church bells tolled. The citizens of Philadelphia wrote to New York, "Send us your liberty pole, as you clearly have no use for it." The king now commenced to harass the colonies with vexatious and unnecessary measures. The search-warrants were carried out arbitrarily, and when, in June, 1772, the *Gaspee* grounded in the bay, she was seized and burned to the water's edge, and the chief-justice of Rhode Island refused to take cognizance of it. In August the king ordered that the judges should have their salaries paid by the crown, and not by the colony.

In October, 1772, at a town meeting in Boston, a committee was appointed to ask Governor Hutchinson whether the judges' salaries were to be paid by the crown, and to request him to convene the assembly to discuss this and other important matters. The governor told them that the town had no right to petition for the assembly, and ordered them to mind their own business. Samuel Adams then moved that a committee of correspondence be appointed, so that the colonies, counties, and towns could advise one another, could consider what infringements and violations of the rights of the colonies had been made, and then publish them to the world. The governor laughed at the resolution, but by the end of the year more than eighty towns had organized their committees, and made a new legislative body, and as it was always in session, no power but that which created it, *i.e.*, itself, could prorogue or dissolve it. This system was followed by the other colonies.

It was really the foundation of the American Union. In 1773 March, 1773, the Assembly met and offered the judges their salaries, and threatened to impeach them if they accepted anything from the crown. While the people were in this state of feeling the king resolved on new aggressions in the way of taxation. The people, who were anxious to live up to their principles and still not go without tea, had been smuggling it from Holland. In order to keep up the failing fortunes of the East India Company, the king now proposed to make the tea coming from England cheaper than they could get it from Holland, but restored the duty of three pence per pound, and sent, in the fall of 1773, ships to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The agents of the East India Company were appointed to receive the tea as consignees. On receipt of this news the popular wrath was greater than it ever was during Stamp Act times. By common consent it was agreed, although the whole country was greatly excited, to make no resistance that was not legal. In New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, during the month of October, as a result of this unspoken but well-understood resolve, the consignees were asked to resign their commissions on the ground that to act would make them enemies of their country, and they did so. In Boston, on the 18th of November, a committee appointed by a town meeting, called on the consignees and asked them to resign, and they refused. This changed the situation somewhat, as Boston then became the battlefield on which the whole question was to be fought out. As the eyes of the whole country were now turned toward that city, the committee of correspondence asked for advice. The first of the tea ships arrived in Boston Harbor on Sunday, November 28th. The committee, notwithstanding their Puritan principles, assembled at once. A few days later two other vessels arrived. The advice which came was not only unanimous but determined; from Lenox to Boston the only reply was, "Let us give up life and all that makes life dear rather than submit to this great wrong." From Philadelphia they wrote: "May God give you virtue enough to save the liberties of your country." The law re-

1773 quired that a vessel should be unloaded within twenty days of her arrival, failing which the revenue officers were to seize the ship and unload her themselves. The people demanded that all the vessels should go back to England without unloading. The governor gave orders that clearance should be refused to the vessels, and that if they turned back without it, they were to be fired on. The twenty days were up early on December 17th. The people were determined that the tea should not be landed: the governor had resolved that it should be. On December 16th a meeting of seven thousand people was held. They sent a messenger to the governor to ask for a clearance. When the messenger arrived with the governor's refusal to grant the permit for the ships, the question was asked, "How will tea mingle with salt water?" which was received with the greatest applause, and the meeting adjourned on the ground that it "could do nothing more to save the country." The people were determined. Their preparations had been carefully made. When the meeting adjourned, fifty men in the dress of Indians went down to the wharves, and, seizing the ships, broke open the chests. The stillness throughout the city was solemn. It was broken only by the blows of the hatchets, which could be distinctly heard, and before nine o'clock of that day the tea of the three ships went into Boston Harbor.

The fact that the tea was not allowed to be landed was received in all the colonies with the ringing of the church bells and with general rejoicing. In Charleston, S. C., the tea was thrown into a damp cellar and was spoiled. In Philadelphia the people forced the ship to go back to England. The colonies without exception rejoiced in these acts. They had solemnly agreed to do nothing contrary to the law, but the law did not provide for such an occasion. The defiance of the constituted authority was recognized everywhere as right, and the necessity for it was the signal for a general outcry of alarm all over the continent. But it was of alarm only, on the part of most men; they had not yet begun to believe that no redress would be given by the mother-country, and that they would have to resist. As yet there was no open demonstration made; the resist-

ance was determined, however, although it was passive. Some 1773 of the people of the country instructed their representatives that the act of the 16th of December, 1773 (when, with the sanction but without the direct order of the Committee on Correspondence, the tea was thrown into Boston harbor), which they and their descendants learned to regard as a necessary, bold, and splendid achievement of true patriots, was "unnecessary, highly unwarrantable, and every way tending to the subversion of all good order and of the Constitution."

Up to this time the colonists had been loyal subjects of King George the Third, none among them more so than John Pater-son. The son of a distinguished and loyal British officer, accustomed from his birth to associate with soldiers of high rank, submission to the will of his Maker and loyalty to his king had been the first principles of his education. When, at the early age at which his father's family became dependent on him, his study of law showed him that unless resisted, oppression finally became slavery, his principles of loyalty were brought into direct conflict with his knowledge of constitutional law, and he, with thousands of others, began to reflect that if he continued to be loyal he could no longer be a freeman. He was still living in Connecticut, where he had had no cause to complain, but he saw very plainly that what was happening in one colony might happen in any other. He was probably then considering the idea of removing with his three little children to Massachusetts. He saw clearly what might befall him in Connecticut, and he foresaw the position he must take in Massachusetts, but, as the sequel showed, he had no misgivings as to the part he should take.

In England the Boston Tea Party was regarded as the culmination of years of riot and lawlessness. The king and the ministry determined to make an example of Boston for her defiance of their authority, and so in its shortsightedness Parliament passed the five acts for the better regulation of the American colonies: First, the "Boston Port Bill," by which Boston ceased to be a port of entry; second, the alteration, or rather the annulling without previous notice, of the

1774 incorporation of towns without the right of sending a representative to the General Court, were most emphatically denounced throughout Berkshire County and in the Province of Massachusetts Bay generally. '

Governor Hutchinson was superseded by General Gage. He had said that with four regiments he could subdue the colonies; and these were given him, and he was instructed not only to close the port of Boston, but to frighten the people into submission by arresting on the 1st of June all the leaders of the patriots, and to order the soldiers to fire on the people wherever and whenever he thought they were asserting themselves too much. All these acts were in utter defiance of every principle of justice which had always been held sacred by Anglo-Saxons, but they were accepted by George the Third, as he said himself, "with supreme satisfaction." He was sure that the Americans were a set of cowards who would not fight, and would give in after a few demonstrations. His three years' experience of them ought to have taught him better. As soon as the other colonies heard that the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, they felt that the same thing might happen to them, and they made common cause with that colony.

The news of the Boston Port Bill reached Boston on the 10th of May, 1774, and it changed the whole face of affairs, for practically all the liberties of the people were then taken away and placed in the hands of the governor; and it seems as if almost by inspiration the majority of the people throughout the province were filled with but one feeling, and that was resentment and determination to resist. Marblehead, which was selected to take the place of Boston as a port of entry, invited the merchants of that city to use their wharves and warehouses free of charge. On May 12th the Committee of Correspondence met in Faneuil Hall and sent a circular letter to all the other colonies, asking for sympathy and co-operation. In the course of the summer responses were made by nearly every one of the colonies, asserting that Boston was suffering in the common cause. Supplies of all kinds were sent to that

city as gifts, to enable them to endure the loss of their commerce. The acts of Parliament were printed and circulated with deep black borders, and in many towns were publicly burned by the common hangman. 1774

The Boston Port Bill went into effect on June 1, 1774. On the same day Governor Hutchinson sailed in the *Minerva* for England. From that day on, the authority of the king and Parliament was never again recognized by the people of Massachusetts. They held that as all governments are only possible by and with the consent of the governed, and as their charter had been illegally and without their consent annulled, they had by this fact lapsed into a state of nature, and that a new government could now only be made by the free vote of the majority of the people. The royal governors held, on the contrary, that the people had now no rights whatever, and acted accordingly. June 1st was observed throughout the whole country as a day of humiliation; fasting, and prayer. It was ushered in by the tolling of muffled bells, the flags were put at half-mast, and the churches were open for solemn services. These services Washington, who was then at Williamsburg, Va., attended. The war which Parliament virtually declared when it annulled the charter of Massachusetts did not break out until the orders came to arrest Adams and Hancock. The attempt of the troops to seize them resulted in the battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775 and the Declaration of Independence in 1776. In Massachusetts the different counties held congresses of deputies sent from their towns to consider "the alarming state of public affairs," and resolved to "preserve their chartered rights against the aggression of the acts of Parliament," "for the better regulation of the government of Massachusetts Bay and the impartial administration of justice in the same." The people determined to administer their own government, and commenced to arm themselves in the face of the royal governors and in the teeth of their orders. Among the very first of these congresses was the Berkshire Convention, to which John Paterson, who had very early in the year 1774 moved into Massachusetts, was sent as

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1774 a delegate from Lenox. It convened at Stockbridge July 6, 1774, and continued in session two days. The Worcester Congress met on August 9th, but did not reach decisive action until the 30th. All the towns in the county then incorporated, except two, were represented. But something more was necessary than the expression of sympathy, for it was evident that what could be done in one colony could be done in another, and to resist it concerted action was necessary. The Sons of Liberty in New York immediately proposed a Continental Congress. The proposition was at once taken up.

The governor had convened the Massachusetts Assembly for the 7th of June, and it was then in session at Salem. On the 17th of June Samuel Adams, having previously locked the door to prevent interference, proposed the election of delegates to a Continental Congress to meet in Philadelphia on September 1st, which was done. Before the proceedings were finished the governor heard of it, and sent his secretary with a writ dissolving the assembly; but the door was locked and no one would open it, so he had to content himself with reading the writ to the crowd outside. In the meantime the assembly went on with their work. They appointed delegates to the Congress, they assessed the towns for the necessary expenses, and adjourned *sine die* before the governor could dissolve them. All the other colonies except Georgia sent delegates to this Continental Congress, and she promised to do what was determined by it. Before the Congress met Massachusetts had set the annulling of the charter and the power of the king at defiance; for when, on the 16th of August, the court was to meet at Great Barrington, 1500 unarmed men assembled at the court-house, and so completely filled and surrounded it that when the judges arrived to hold court they could not enter the building, and the people both inside and out refused to make way for them. Two of the king's mandamus councilors declined to act, and the others were forced to resign. The example set in Berkshire County was followed throughout the province, and was everywhere successful. The king's court could not sit anywhere in the

province except where it was under the immediate protection 1774 of the royal troops. As these places became fewer and fewer it happened at last that they were finally all suppressed, so that the courts closed in 1774 by crowding the judges out of their places, were not again opened until they were reconstructed under the constitution of the State in 1780. The people assembled in town meetings in the presence of both the soldiers and the governor, and when he threatened them they commenced to collect ammunition. On a false rumor that the soldiers had fired on the people, 20,000 men, in less than forty-eight hours, marched toward Boston, and went quietly back to their homes when the rumor proved to be unfounded. The Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. They prepared an address to the people of Great Britain and all of the colonies, drew up a declaration of rights, asserting that the colonies could only be taxed by themselves, approved what had been done by the county conventions, appointed May 11, 1775, for a second Congress, in which Canada and Florida were invited to join, and adjourned on October 26th. On February 1st Lord Chatham introduced a resolution into Parliament which would have avoided the war, repealing the oppressive measures, and renouncing the right of taxation; but it was voted down by large majorities in both Houses, and the war then became inevitable.

Immediately after the news of the Boston Port Bill the Assembly of Virginia, which had been dissolved by the governor but was still sitting, ordered the Committee on Correspondence to communicate with the other colonies of British America with regard to the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies to meet annually in a general congress, to deliberate on such measures as the united interests of the colonies might require. The Boston *Gazette* of June 20th says: "The aspect of affairs is highly favorable. . . . the whole continent seeming inspired by one soul, and that a vigorous and determined one." This unanimity was owing to the constant interchange of thought and opinion made possible by the proceedings of the conventions and congresses.

1774 County conventions were held in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in the year 1774, especially the notable one at Stockbridge in the county of Berkshire on the 6th of July of that year. It was composed of "sixty gentlemen deputies," who, feeling deeply the forbidding of the manufacture of raw materials found so abundantly in the province, adopted the "Solemn League and Covenant." It had already been adopted in Boston. It was also signed by a large majority of the people of all the towns and counties in the province and some of the other colonies, and was rigorously adhered to. It had for its object to prevent the use by the colonists of articles imported from Great Britain. To the Berkshire Convention John Paterson was sent as a delegate from Lenox. He not only signed the "Solemn League and Covenant" himself, but was one of the most active in procuring signatures to it. On the 14th of July, 1774, the resolutions adopted by the Berkshire Convention were signed by one hundred and ten citizens of Lenox at the instigation of their deputies. These resolutions and the "Solemn League and Covenant" were the basis of the principles upon which the Revolution was made, and they became in a few weeks as familiar to all the people as household words.

The text of the "Solemn League and Covenant" is given below in full.

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

Whereas the Parliament of Great Britain have of late undertaken to give and grant away our money without our knowledge and consent; and in order to compel us to a servile submission to the above measures have proceeded to block up the harbor of Boston; also have vacated, or are about to vacate, the charter, and repeal certain laws of this province heretofore enacted by the General Court, and confirmed by the king and his predecessors; therefore, as a means to obtain a speedy redress of the aforesaid grievances, we do, solemnly and in good faith, covenant and engage with each other:

I. That we will not import, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person by, or for, us to import, purchase, or consume in any manner whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandise which shall arrive in America from Great Britain from and after the first day of October, 1774, or such other time as shall be agreed upon by the American Congress, nor any goods.

which shall be ordered from thence, after this day, until our chartered and constitutional rights shall be restored, or until it shall be determined by the major part of our brethren in this and the neighboring colonies that a non-importation and non-consumption agreement will not have a tendency to effect the desired end, or until it shall be apparent that a non-importation and non-consumption agreement will not be entered into by a majority of this and the neighboring colonies; except such articles as the said General Congress of North America shall agree to import, purchase, or consume. 1774

II. We do further covenant and agree, that we will observe the most strict obedience to all constitutional laws and authority, and will at all times exert ourselves to the utmost for the discouragement of all licentiousness and suppression of all mobs and riots.

III. We will all exert ourselves, as far as in us lies, in promoting love, peace, and unanimity among each other; and for that end we engage to avoid all unnecessary lawsuits.

IV. As a strict and proper adherence to the present agreement will, if not seasonably provided against, involve us in many difficulties and inconveniences; we do promise and agree that we will take the most prudent care for the raising and preserving sheep for the manufacturing of all such cloths as shall be most useful and necessary; for the raising of flax and manufacturing of linens. Further, that we will, by every prudent method, endeavor to guard against all those inconveniences which may otherwise arise from the foregoing agreement.

V. That, if any person shall refuse to sign this or a similar covenant, or if, after signing it, shall not adhere to the real intent and meaning thereof, he or they shall be treated with that neglect justly deserved.

VI. That if this or a similar covenant shall after the first day of August next be offered to any trader or shopkeeper in this county, and he or they shall refuse to sign the same, for the space of forty-eight hours, that we will not, from thenceforth, purchase any article of British manufactures, from him or them, until such time as he or they shall sign this or a similar covenant.

This covenant was the result of a wonderful uprising of popular spirit in an age when the ordinary acts of the English government were generally quietly acquiesced in, but were such as are now considered not only despotic but arbitrary. The county of Berkshire, which up to 1761 had been a part of Hampshire County, of which Sheffield was one of the largest towns, was filled by just such a spirit. The town of Lenox was incorporated in 1767, and its inhabitants were thoroughly

- 1774 loyal subjects to George III. (as is shown by the resolution passed by the Stockbridge Convention of July 6, 1774) until they were forced by his arbitrary acts to declare, as they did on December 25, 1775, "that there shall be no more warrants given out in his majesty's name to warn town meetings."

CHAPTER II.

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES AND THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

ON the 1st of September, 1774, Thomas Gage, the royal 1774 governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, issued his precept to each of the towns of the colony, commanding them to send their representatives to the General Court to be convened at Salem on the 5th of October, 1774. On the 5th he began to fortify Boston Neck, so as to close the approach to the city by land. On the 6th, 5000 armed men at Worcester prevented the unconstitutionally appointed judges from taking their seats for the county assizes. The same day the Suffolk County Convention declared "that the king who violates the chartered rights of the people forfeits their allegiance," and ordered all the officers appointed under the regulating act to resign at once. They ordered the collectors of taxes to decline to pay them over to the governor's treasurer. They advised the towns to choose militia officers, and sent word to the governor that if he arrested any one for political offenses they would seize the officers of the king and hold them as hostages. On the receipt of these resolutions a provisional government was formed. The same day the Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia and approved the Suffolk resolutions and demanded the repeal of the acts of Parliament. On the 28th of September, fearful of the effect of these demonstrations, Governor Gage, incensed by the instructions given by many of the towns to their representatives elected for the General Court, revoked his precept, notifying the members not to come, on account of "the disordered and unhappy state of the

1774 province, the extraordinary resolves which had been passed in many of the counties, and the instructions given by the town of Boston and some other towns to their representatives." The "pestilent leaders," as he called the representatives of some of the towns, were ordered to remain at home; but he neglected to recognize that these leaders were not moving of themselves, but by the authority and at the wish of the people, and that these people, whose power he did not recognize and whose authority he despised, were the ones who were the real governors. This revocation, together with the indignation against other acts of the crown and Parliament, which was already boiling up in the minds of the people, intensified the bitter feeling existing between the colonies and the mother-country. Up to that time loyalty to the crown had been a matter of religion with most of the colonists. It was only a few disaffected ones, who, according to the governor, "were not in the majority, who were fomenting sedition," but this arbitrary act caused a great addition to these ranks and brought the disaffected into the majority. All the towns had elected their representatives to the General Court, and these representatives were the best and ablest men in the province. The towns unanimously decided that their representatives should pay no attention to the counter-proclamation, and should proceed to Salem notwithstanding the revocation of the governor's precept.

To this congress John Paterson was sent as the representative of the town of Lenox, and he was one of the most active and influential men in it. The members were fully aware of the responsibility they had assumed, and were equal to the emergency; but in order that they should take no step without the authority of their constituents, they kept adjourning and returning to their own homes to consult the people from whom they had received their authority. The instructions given to John Paterson by the town of Lenox were, that if the governor, whose presence in the General Court was necessary to its legal organization, presented himself, to proceed to find, if possible, a "remedy for the disordered and unhappy state of

the province," but that if he should refuse to appear, then 1774 the representatives should proceed to their deliberations without him and find it for themselves. All the towns gave similar instructions to their representatives. Ninety of the delegates assembled Wednesday, October 5th, the day assigned in the precept. They waited one day for the governor, but he refused to meet and organize them. They organized themselves on Thursday, and on Friday they adopted the following resolution, which they sent to the governor:

Resolved: That some of the causes assigned for this unconstitutional and wanton prevention of the General Court have in all good governments been considered among the greatest reasons for convening a parliament or assembly; and therefore the proclamation is considered as a further proof, not only of His Excellency's disaffection toward the province, but of the necessity of its most vigorous and immediate exertions for preserving the freedom and constitution thereof.

They then declared themselves to be a Provincial Congress, and published their proceedings, which was their method of informing the people of their action; but in order that there should be no mistake as to their intentions, they sent to the governor notice of what had been done by a committee of twenty-one of their number. On the 17th Governor Gage replied that by assembling without his authority they were subverting their charter and acting in direct violation of their own constitution. This is one of the few cases in which he was right, for by doing what they had done none knew better than themselves that they had committed high treason and had forfeited their lives and property to the crown of Great Britain. Their action was fully sustained by the people. The time had come when submission meant subjection, and when obedience to law, when their rulers acted in defiance of justice, was the complete surrender of their liberties. "As we are in a remote wilderness of the earth, we know but little," said the farmers of Lenox, "but neither nature nor the God of nature requires us to crouch, Issacher-like, between the two burdens of poverty and slavery."*

* Bancroft's "History of the United States," vol. iii., p. 249.

1774 This act of rebellion in Massachusetts broke up all forms of law, for the king's courts could not be held among those who had defied his authority. The courts of justice were not re-established until the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780. By common agreement the people settled their differences, acts of violence were uncommon, and what differences could not be settled between parties were settled by authorities named and constituted by common consent.

During all the time that the Continental and Provincial Congresses were in session county conventions were being constantly held, and it was these conventions which had brought the sentiment up to such a point that without hesitation they converted the Great and General Court, which had been put under the ban of the governor, into the Provincial Congress which made the Revolution possible. In the meantime, Earl Chatham had tried to get the offensive acts repealed and to renounce the right to tax the colonies, but Parliament refused; all the ports of New England were closed, the army about Boston was increased to 10,000 men, and Governor Gage, who had promised to subdue the colonies with four regiments, was superseded by Howe.

It must not be supposed that the feeling which made the American Revolution was unanimous. Debates were bitter and party spirit was high; families were divided then, as they were during the late Civil War; but the movement for the Revolution was the act of an overwhelming majority, and many who were opposed at the outset became enthusiastic advocates after the majority had decided that the separation from the mother-country must be made. The people had been accustomed to live on the defensive and to be in constant fear that the arrival of each ship from Great Britain would bring fresh curtailment of their liberties. Loyalty had been part of their religion, and was still so; but when they began to ask themselves how far loyalty to the king should carry submission to the unjust enactment of his ministers and Parliament, they had already admitted the principle of the Revolution, and from that to the repudiation of the oath

taken, not only to defend the king, but "to disclose any 1774
plot of treason against his majesty or his successors, without
mental reservation," was but a step.

The first seed of the Revolution was thus sown by the representatives of the people of Massachusetts Bay, who, in defiance of the proclamation of Governor Gage, were instructed by their towns to go to Salem, according to the royal precept issued September 1st, and to pay no attention whatever to the counter-proclamation. Few of us can appreciate what it cost the people to instruct those delegates to the General Court to resolve themselves into a congress, and yet it was this resolve which made it possible for the United States of America to become what they are.

To fully appreciate these events, they must not be taken as isolated facts, but must be considered in connection with the county conventions and the provincial congresses which made the acts of the Continental Congress by which the Declaration of Independence was finally made possible. The connection between the Continental Congress, the provincial congresses, and the county conventions was very close, so that the acts of each body were immediately felt throughout the whole of the country. In the year 1774, when everything was ready for the war which followed so soon afterward, they prepared the way for the ready acceptance by the people of the conversion of the General Court called by Governor Gage into the Provincial Congress which made the Revolution. There were only about three millions of people in the country at that time, but these representative assemblies, for such they were, were of such a character that in a very brief period the opinions of the people were not only formed, but transmitted to the governing bodies in such a way that there was no mistaking what public opinion was. The town-meeting was the safety-valve of public thought; the higher and more dignified assemblies digested, formulated, and expressed it. The habit of debate which every public act required led men to form their own opinions. They were, it is true, more or less influenced by the public orators, but what the town,

1774 country, single province or the united provinces thought was expressed by these assemblies. There were differences of opinion, but these were settled by votes in the open meeting, and not by newspaper editors for partisan purposes. The result was that in the thirteen States, when the time for self-assertion and independence came, "the group of statesmen that proceeded from them were a match for any in the whole history of the world and were superior to those of any other epoch."*

On December 26, 1774, the town of Lenox voted "that the Collector of the Province Tax shall pay Colonel John Paterson out of the ^{sd} tax money for his Representing us at the Great and General Court at their last May Session Ten Pounds Ten Shillings lawful money." They also voted to pay "two pounds eight shillings to Colonel John Paterson for journeying to Boston to do business with the Committee of Correspondence." He had gone to the coast under a false alarm of war. At the same meeting he with two others was chosen a committee to gather grain to provide the town with a stock of ammunition, to consist of one hundred pounds of powder, four hundred pounds of lead, and six hundred flints. Such action as this called for military organization. The people had been more or less habituated to the necessities of defense from their isolated position, but this defense had been against the barbarous warfare of the Indians. Now it was a defense of their rights against trained soldiers. Every colony had its militia organizations. Almost all the towns had had their trained bands. They had originated in the very early history of the settlements from the spontaneous feeling of the necessity of some kind of systematic protection. They were looked upon by the royal authorities as a useful means of local defense, and were regarded as an organization which might be useful to the governors in case they should be required to put down "the pestilent fellows who were fomenting disturbances." The great increase in their number during the year 1774 had either not attracted the notice of

* From Mr. Gladstone's speeches.

the authorities, or was taken as the result of a martial spirit 1774 which was natural. The general arming of the people had been so noiseless that it had excited no apprehension on the part of the royal authorities; it had been looked on as part of the necessary consequences of the isolated condition of the towns. It does not appear that it was ever regarded by them even with suspicion. Now the colonists found the train bands useful as a means of organization; and, inspired by their leaders, they commenced the formation of uniformed militia companies, with fixed terms of service, in all the towns, and in this move Lenox was not backward. In this spirit, in the congress on October 25, 1774, John Paterson had been ordered to inquire into "the state of all the stores in the commissary general's department," and he knew the resources of the province perfectly. On the 27th the congress appointed a committee of safety whose duty was to collect military stores. The towns, through their delegates, had done their work fearlessly and thoroughly. They had carried the people with them in every step, and now they came forward and voted money freely to arm, equip, and discipline those citizens who had entered "the alarm list companies," as they were called. To be a private in one of these companies was an honor; to be an officer was the highest distinction the town could confer. By this time John Paterson was most thoroughly satisfied that it was useless to try to convince the governor that he had acted unjustly, and hopeless to obtain any redress from the British crown, and that war was inevitable. He had, before the second congress was called and during its sessions, raised and organized a regiment, and while he was at home was most active in equipping it and drilling it for field service, which he told every man when he enlisted that he might be called on at any moment to render. Every one when he enlisted pledged himself to be ready to march at a moment's notice of a hostile movement of the king's troops. The privates elected the company officers, and they the field officers. It was a foregone conclusion that John Paterson, who was a born leader of men, should

1774 be elected the colonel. His early association with military life, and his knowledge of it gained while his father was in service at home, so well adapted him for leadership that he was the undisputed authority and the acknowledged leader. The regiment was raised for the defense of the colony. Lenox had previously made provision for the securing of arms and ammunition for it. In a very short time a sufficient number of persons, uniformed and equipped, had joined the regiment to entitle it to be organized as such. John Paterson, who had been chosen as its colonel, was commissioned by the Colonial Committee of Safety. The regiment was composed principally of companies from the middle and northern towns of the county. Five companies were from the county of Berkshire, four from other parts of Massachusetts, and one from the State of New York. With a great deal of labor it had been well drilled and brought to a fine state of discipline. It was fully equipped and in thorough condition for active service and was all ready when the news of the battle of Lexington and the bloody encounter at the bridge at Concord was brought to Lenox. The regiment was assembled at once, and within eighteen hours after the receipt of the news was on the march to Cambridge and was the first on the ground after the news of the battle.

The First Provincial Congress was dissolved December 10, 1774, the reason for which was the danger which the delegates foresaw of continuing to exercise so great powers as became necessary from the unexpected situation without a new election, and they recommended the towns and districts to elect members to the new congress, giving the very good reason that in times of so great emergency, when new principles were to be asserted and circumstances so extraordinary were constantly arising, the views of the people should be represented in a new congress, not by men who had been elected under different emergencies, but by those who knew the circumstances of the day. John Paterson immediately returned to Lenox, thoroughly convinced himself that war was inevitable, and he advised immediate preparation for it. This ad-

vice was followed, and sixteen days afterward, on December 26th, the town appointed a committee of eleven to collect grain for purposes of defense, and voted the sum of twenty pounds to procure and pay for a stock of ammunition. This was done on the advice of Mr. Paterson, who assured the people of the town that war, if not inevitable, was most likely, and that, if it should come, any unnecessary delay in preparing for it now would be fatal, and that without the most active resistance to the aggressions of the British crown it would be impossible to live honorably under that tyranny. 1774-1775

On January 30, 1775, John Paterson was elected delegate to the Second Provincial Congress, called to assemble at Cambridge on the 1st day of February following. This body organized as a Provincial Congress. Governor Gage refused all recognition of it, while it, on its part, like the First Congress, acknowledged no authority but that of the people. On February 9th John Paterson was made chairman of a committee to report the names of those who had been appointed king's councilors by mandamus and had refused to resign their appointments. They reported the names of fifteen men whom they declared to be "the implacable enemies of their country," and the secretary was ordered to send their names to all the newspapers, that they "might, if possible, be sent down to posterity with the infamy they deserve." On February 10th he was appointed on a committee "to revise the commission of the Committee of Safety and also of the Committee of Supplies, and to point out what amendments, if any, are necessary." On February 13th he was appointed a committee "to bring in a resolution for inquiry into the state of the militia, their number and equipment, and recommending to the selectmen of the several towns and districts in the province to make return of their town and district stock of ammunition and warlike stores to this Congress." On the 14th of February he was instructed to bring in a resolution to appoint an agent to go to the province of Quebec and collect the sentiments of the people there relating to the matters which disturbed the harmony existing between the mother-country and her colonies. John Brown

1775 was made this agent, and the news which he brought back resulted in the disastrous Canada campaign, which was undertaken under the impression that Canada, like the other colonies, was dissatisfied and was both likely and willing to join the other provinces in the defense of their rights. The same day he was made chairman of a committee "to bring in a resolve, directing and empowering the Committee of Correspondence for the town of Boston to establish an intimate correspondence with the inhabitants of Quebec." On February 16th he was appointed to bring in a resolution relative to adjournment, and empowering the members from Charlestown to call the Congress together at an earlier day than that to which it may be adjourned. At a town meeting held in Lenox on the 21st of March, 1775, during one of the recesses of the congress Colonel John Paterson was chosen moderator of the meeting. He was elected selectman and assessor, collector of the school tax, and was sworn in to these offices. It was thought by the congress to be of the greatest importance to secure the interest and the services of the Stockbridge Indians in the cause of the colonies, and on April 1, 1775, he was appointed to present an address to the Stockbridge Indians for the encouragement of those of the tribe who had enlisted as minute-men. It was voted to appropriate twenty-three pounds for the purchase of blankets and ribbons for each of them, and that Colonel John Paterson and Captain William Goodridge should purchase blankets and ribbons and present an address to the Indians, and that each Indian enlisted should be given one blanket and one yard of ribbon. The address, which was probably written by Paterson, in whose ability to draft resolutions and addresses his fellow-congressmen seem to have had great confidence, is given in full :

"To Johoiakin Mothksin and the rest of our brethren, the Indians, natives of Stockbridge :

"GOOD BROTHERS: It affords us great pleasure and satisfaction to hear, by Colonel Paterson and Captain Goodridge, that our brothers, the natives of Stockbridge, are ready and willing to take up the hatchet in

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the cause of liberty and their country. We find you have not been inattentive to the unhappy controversy we are engaged in with our mother-country, by reason of sundry acts the British Parliament have passed, by which our rights and privileges have been invaded and our property taken from us without our consent. We have frequently petitioned the king for redress for our grievances and the restoration of our rights; but instead of granting us relief the king's ministers have sent a large fleet and posted a great many in the town of Boston, who are daily abusing and insulting the inhabitants in order to enforce obedience to these acts. The whole continent, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, by their delegates have lately presented a petition to the king praying for relief, to which we hope we shall receive a gracious answer. We wish the fire of friendship may be again kindled between both countries; but in case our petition should not be attended to and the ministry should determine to deprive us of our rights and property by a military force, we hold ourselves obliged to defend them at the point of the sword. This is a common cause—a cause you are equally engaged in with ourselves; we are all brothers, and if the Parliament of Great Britain takes from us our property and our lands without our consent, they will do the same by you; your property, your lands will be insecure—in short, we shall not any of us have anything we can call our own. Your engaging in this cause discovers not only your attachment to your liberties, but furnishes us with an evidence of your gratitude to this province for their past favors. They have frequently at your request made laws and regulations for your protection and defense against the ravages and frauds of designing men. They have constantly and cheerfully afforded you aid and assistance, because you have given them abundant proof of your fidelity. We have directed Colonel Paterson and Captain Goodridge to present each of you that have enlisted in the service with a blanket and a ribbon as a testimony of our affection, and shall depend upon your firm and steady attachment to the cause you have engaged in.”

In a short time the Stockbridge Indians enlisted a full company composed of all the fighting men of the tribe, and they did most faithful service during the war. The chief of one of the tribes which accepted the address and enlisted the men replied, however, “I am not used to fight English fashion, and you must not expect me to train like your men; only point out to me where your enemies keep, and that is all I shall want to know.”

In July eighteen of the Indian soldiers petitioned Congress to take care of their money, as they were afraid of getting

1775 too much strong drink. They asked that their money be paid to two citizens of Stockbridge, who should deal it out to them as they had need, and the petition was granted on July 5th.

The same day that the address to the Stockbridge Indians was adopted John Paterson, with Thomas Cushing and Samuel Adams of Boston, was ordered to draft a similar letter to the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, and an address to the Mohawk Indians. The address is given below, and states the whole case fully :

“CONCORD, April 4, 1775.

“REVEREND SIR : The Provincial Congress have thought it necessary to address the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, with the rest of the Five Nations, upon the subject of the controversy between Great Britain and the American colonies. We were induced to take this measure, as we have been informed that those who are inimical to us in Canada have been tampering with those nations, and endeavoring to attach them to the interest of those who are attempting to deprive us of our inestimable rights and privileges, and to subjugate the colonies to arbitrary power. From a confidence in your attachment to the cause of liberty and your country, we now transmit to you the inclosed address, and desire you would deliver it to the sachem of the Mohawk tribe to be communicated to the rest of the Five Nations, and that you would use your influence with them to join with us in the defense of our rights ; but if you cannot prevail with them to take an active part in this glorious cause, that you would, at least, engage them to stand neuter, and not by any means to aid and assist our enemies ; and as we are at a loss for the name of the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, we have left it to you to direct the address to him, in such way as you may think proper.

“ ‘Brothers : We, the delegates of the inhabitants of the province of the Massachusetts Bay, being come together to consider what may be best for you and ourselves to do, in order to get ourselves rid of those hardships which we feel and fear, have thought it our duty to tell you, our good brothers, what our fathers in Great Britain have done and threaten to do with us.

“ ‘Brothers : You have heard how our fathers were obliged, by the cruelty of their brethren, to leave their country ; how they crossed the great lake and came here ; how they purchased this land with their own money, and how, since that time, they and we, their sons and grandsons, have built our houses, and cut down the trees, and cleared and improved the land at their and our own expense ; how we have fought for them,

and conquered Canada and a great many other places which they have had and have not paid us for. After all which and many other troubles, we thought we had reason to hope that they would be kind to us, and allow us to enjoy ourselves, and sit in our own houses and eat our own victuals in peace and quiet; but alas, our brothers, we are greatly distressed, and we will tell you our grief, for you, as well as we, are in great danger. 1775

“‘Brothers: Our fathers in Great Britain tell us our lands and houses and cattle and money are not our own; that we, ourselves, are not our own men, but their servants; they have endeavored to take away our money without our leave, and have sent their great vessels and a great many warriors for that purpose.

“‘Brothers: We used to send our vessels on the great lake, whereby we were able to get clothes and what we needed for ourselves and you; but such has lately been their conduct that we cannot; they have told us we shall have no more guns, no powder to use and kill our wolves and other game, nor to send to you, for you to kill your victuals with, and to get skins to trade with us, to buy you blankets and what you want. How can you live without powder and guns? But we hope to supply you soon with both of our own making.

“‘Brothers: They have made a law to establish the religion of the pope in Canada, which lies so near you. We much fear some of your children may be induced, instead of worshipping the only true God, to pay *His* due to images made with their own hands.

“‘Brothers: These and many other hardships we are threatened with, which, no doubt, in the end, will equally affect you; for the same reason they would get our lands, they will take away yours. All we want is, that we and you may enjoy that liberty and security which we have a right to enjoy, and that we may not lose that good land which enables us to feed our wives and children. We think it our duty to inform you of our danger, and desire you to give notice to all your kindred; and as we much fear they will attempt to cut our throats, and if you should allow them to do that, there will nobody remain to keep them from you, we therefore earnestly desire you to whet your hatchet and be prepared with us to defend our liberties and lives.

“‘Brothers: We humbly beseech that God, who lives and does what is right here below, to enlighten your minds to see that you ought to prevent our fathers from bringing those miseries upon us, and to His good providence we commend you.’” *

On the 4th of April, Congress having given Captain Goodridge permission to augment his company to one hundred men to act as rangers, he was directed to apply to Colonel

* “Journal of the First Provincial Congress,” p. 118.

1775 Paterson, who would have an opportunity to consult the field-officers of the militia regiments from which the men were to be enlisted, and act as they might think best. On April 24th he was made the member from Berkshire County to attend the meetings of the Committee of Safety and Supplies and advise them "who from among the minute-men are most suitable for officers in the army now raising." He was so successful in enlisting men that on May 1st it was ordered that he "be supplied with ten sets of enlisting orders." How thoroughly he commanded the confidence of the people in military matters is shown by the fact that he was appointed by the Congress on almost every committee relating to military affairs. On March 21, 1775, the town of Lenox voted "to abide by the doings of the Provincial Congress." On April 14, 1775, they voted to procure forty muskets, "with bayonets and cartouch boxes." On April 12th he was appointed on a committee to look into matters relating to, and to attend to applications from, the plantation of New Providence. On May 3d he was appointed to give to Ebenezer Bradish a certificate of unjust accusation. On May 8th Colonel Paterson was made a member of a committee to see that all the members of the Congress were in their seats at 3 P.M. the next day, to determine "whether it was expedient to assume the government." This discussion was postponed until the 12th, when it became evident that there was no hope of redress, and it was decided to act. They assumed the government, and all the responsibilities which such revolutionary action entailed. The Congress continued in session until the 29th of May, adjourning from time to time in order that the new state of affairs might be explained to the people and their wishes ascertained. In these two Congresses he was one of the ablest and clearest of those who demanded freedom from the tyranny of the colonial representatives of the mother-country and from the mother-country itself. In the interval between the sessions Colonel Paterson visited all parts of the district that he represented, explaining the critical relations, making known the resolutions and debates of the members of the First and Second Con-

gresses, showing the wrongs inflicted upon the colony, and the necessity of maintaining their honor and manhood by preparing at once for the impending struggle. His clear statement of the legal side of the question, his patriotic appeals to their manhood, and his unflinching determination for himself not to yield, had probably as great, if not greater, influence than the representations of most of the other delegates. 1775

His ancestors had fled from Scotland to escape the tyranny of James II. He had learned in his boyhood from them that despotism, when quietly submitted to, meant slavery, and by the gradual encroachment on the charter which had been made, until he saw that instrument, in the last official acts, disappear altogether, he knew that there was no hope for the American colonists to remain freemen except by the assertion and defense of their rights. Since his graduation, as a loyal subject of the king he had urged obedience to the laws as enacted, while endeavoring when they seemed oppressive to get them changed or repealed. Now he saw that remonstrance was useless, and he freely and openly advised armed resistance as the only price at which it was possible for the provinces to retain their freedom. He believed what he said, and his earnest representations convinced people that he was right. His knowledge of law and of military matters, his ability as a leader, and the zeal and firmness that he had shown in resisting the oppressions of the British crown, made him one of the ablest and most prominent men in both Congresses. He not only kept the people of the town fully informed of all the proceedings of the Congresses, but kept them up to doing their part when action was necessary. The people required but very little urging. They were no longer actuated by the spirit of loyalty which passed the resolutions of July 6, 1774. Every town took care to be represented in all the congresses and conventions, and each individual townsman took pains to be himself thoroughly acquainted with the facts.

The winter had passed quietly. In their town meetings every man, woman, and child had had the lesson impressed upon them that, in order to secure the full sympathy of the

1775 other colonies, the government must fire the first shot. The acts of Parliament had been defied. No one could be found to serve under the royal commission. There was practically no government. The men drilled every evening in the villages, and quietly collected their military stores. In Boston the hardship was great, but no provocation was sufficient to make the people do more than assert and re-assert their rights.

On March 5th a town meeting was held in Boston at the old South Church, which was full to repletion, and at which Joseph Warren made a most eloquent address "on the baleful influences of standing armies in time of peace," at which Hancock and Adams, who had both been proscribed, were present. This gave the governor a pretext for action. The Second Provincial Congress had adjourned from April 15th to May 10th, but on the 17th of April the committee from Charlestown and the neighboring towns, who had been authorized to recall the members if necessary, sent summons to all the delegates to return at once, as General Gage had received reinforcements and was making preparations to send British troops into the interior. The government had determined to arrest Adams and Hancock as traitors and have them sent to England for trial; but Governor Gage tried first to corrupt them, which he found impossible. He then received peremptory orders to arrest them. After the adjournment of the Congress they both went to Lexington for a few days. The governor thought that it would be easier to arrest them there than in Boston or Watertown, and troops were sent there secretly for that purpose, and also to destroy the military stores which were collected at Concord. But the news leaked out, and the result was that the troops which started on the night of April 18th met with a warm reception the next morning, and the battles of Lexington and Concord took place. The expedition was a failure. The whole force narrowly escaped capture. The people had shown that they could fight, and that they had excellent ideas of military organization and were expert marksmen; and,

moreover, Great Britain had fired the first shot, so that at the end of the week Gage found himself besieged in Boston by sixteen thousand men. The affairs of the provinces had now assumed the gravest turn in their history. The notice for the reassembling of the Congress was sent by express messengers, and possibly had reached Lenox previous to the news of the battle of Lexington, which occurred on the 19th. This may account for the almost incredible promptness with which Colonel Paterson and his regiment arrived in Boston. Sending notice to all his soldiers to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, Colonel Paterson was about to return to the Second Congress. On the 20th the news of the battle of Lexington and the fight at the bridge at Concord, or, much more probably, the news of the starting of the British troops from Boston, reached Lenox by special couriers, who had ridden night and day by relays to carry it. These events, following so quickly one upon the other, demanded attention at once, and the town responded immediately. The battle occurred on Wednesday; the news arrived by relays of couriers on Friday, the 17th, at noon; and on Saturday morning at sunrise the regiment, which was completely armed and equipped and for the most part in uniform, marched.* Colonel Paterson left the regiment at Cambridge, but acted as colonel of his regiment and delegate in the Congress at the same time, until the Congress adjourned. Between May 23d and 29th, when the Second Congress adjourned, they resolved to issue commissions to colonels of regiments who should procure certificates from the Committee of Safety that their regiments were filled with the proper complement of men. On the 26th of May, 1775, Colonel Paterson having assured the Committee of Safety from his seat in the Congress that his regiment had 496 enlisted men, was nearly full, was ready for service and actually in the field, a certificate of that fact was given to him, and it was recommended that the regiment be commissioned by the Provincial Congress as a part of the Continental Army.

* Azaria Egleston, afterward his son-in-law, was in this regiment.

1775 "Capn John McKinstry in Nobletown took out inlisting Orders from Capn Charles Dibbell in Colo Paterson's Regiment, we suppose his Company to be full & near if not quite compleat as to Arms & may be expected here this week

"Capn Douglas at Jerico took inlisting Orders as above, we suppose his Company to be full & arms sufficient, this company may be expected here by next Monday at furtherst

"Capn Ingersols Company may be expected every hour, he took inlisting Orders from Capn Wm Guttridge & is now on his March, supposed to be full and compleat with Arms

"Capn Pratt, we have heard is gone or proposes to go to the Northward

"Capn Strong, we are doubtful whether he will get his Company full

"JOHN PATERSON

"WM GOODRICH *

"CAMBRIDGE, June 13th, 1775"

On the 29th of May the Second Provincial Congress was dissolved, and he went at once to his regiment in the field, and never left the army, except on a very short furlough, until he retired in December, 1783. The important part that Colonel Paterson took in these congresses is shown by the fact that he was a member of so many committees during the First and Second Congresses, and that they were for the most part those which gave the tone and character to the congresses. In everything relating to military and legal matters he was the ruling spirit.

It is remarkable that while for nine months all the ordinary methods of government had been at a stand-still, and that violence might have resulted at any time, yet there had been no disturbances in the affairs of every-day life. Things had gone on as usual. The acts of the governor had been peaceably resisted. Every one was satisfied that the first act of violence must be committed by the governor, and then they would be sure of the co-operation of every one of the colonies. Drilling went on in every town in the evening on the village green. War supplies were openly collected. Organizations were perfected, but every one throughout the entire land knew

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxlvi., p. 192.

that it was indispensable that the government should fire the 1775
first shot. It was not the first time that armed resistance had
been prepared against the encroachments of the British crown.
The first departure of armed men from Lenox to Boston was
on an unfounded alarm in 1774. The people had been ready
once on a false alarm, and when the first real cause came,
which was after the battles of Lexington and Concord, when
Revere gave the appointed signal from the church tower,
they marched without delay. Colonel Paterson having been re-
lieved from his civil duties by the adjournment of the Second
Congress on the 29th of May, and being in the field with his
regiment, Captain Caleb Hyde * was sent as the representative
of Lenox.

On the 10th of May Ticonderoga had been captured, and a
few days later St. John's. Those fortresses commanded the
northern approaches to the Hudson River, and were the
strategic centers of the whole northern country. It was neces-
sary to hold them if an invasion of Canada was to be carried out
on the one hand, and to prevent invasion from Canada on the
other. With them were captured large quantities of military
stores and cannon, of which the army was in need, and which
were of the greatest use in the operations around Boston
which were shortly to be carried out. The Continental Con-
gress met in Philadelphia on the same day. This body was
an advisory one without any legal power, but as there was no
other central government it soon became in fact the govern-
ing body. They elected John Hancock as President in the
teeth of his proscription by the king's officers. They were
afraid that the garrisoning of Ticonderoga was going too far,
but finally consented to it, and they adopted the army before
Boston as "The Continental Army of the United Colonies,"
and appointed Colonel George Washington as commander-in-
chief, with the title of General.

The Third Provincial Congress convened at Watertown on

* This was the Caleb Hyde whose daughter Clarissa married John Pat-
erson's eldest son.

1775 May 31, 1775, and adjourned July 19th. As Colonel Paterson was in the field, Captain Caleb Hyde took his place as representative from Lenox. This Third Congress, in view of what was about to happen, revised the commission of the Committee of Safety and Supplies, and gave them authority to call meetings of the Congress at any time, and other powers. On June 4th they ordered that Colonel Paterson's regiment should be paid out of the first moneys collected by the receiver-general. On June 26th they "Resolved that Captain McKinstry and Captain Porter, who have each raised a company in New York and Connecticut, be permitted to join Colonel Paterson's regiment, provided their companies are full or near full, and that each man is provided with a good and sufficient fire-lock, and that they join the regiment as soon as possible."

In the interval between the time that Governor Gage had been practically set aside by the people, and while the provincial congresses and the Committee of Safety were exercising all executive and legislative powers, the courts were closed; but the people were actuated by great principles, and not only were no great crimes committed anywhere which required the actions of the courts, but good order prevailed everywhere. Whatever judicial powers were necessary were exercised by members of the provincial congresses, not by virtue of commissions or authority given to them by anybody for the purpose, but by common consent. The people took upon themselves the executive duties in all departments, and common consent was the only authority known and recognized. They had learned the principle of representative government from the mother-country, but they had learned still another lesson, which was, that since they had ceased to have hereditary officers, to appoint their own by election; and finding themselves not sufficiently strong to act alone, they commenced to act first by unions of towns and then of counties, and finally by confederation of all the provinces; and to represent this union the First Continental Congress was called at Philadelphia, on September 5, 1774, and then the provincial congresses continued only as a mat-

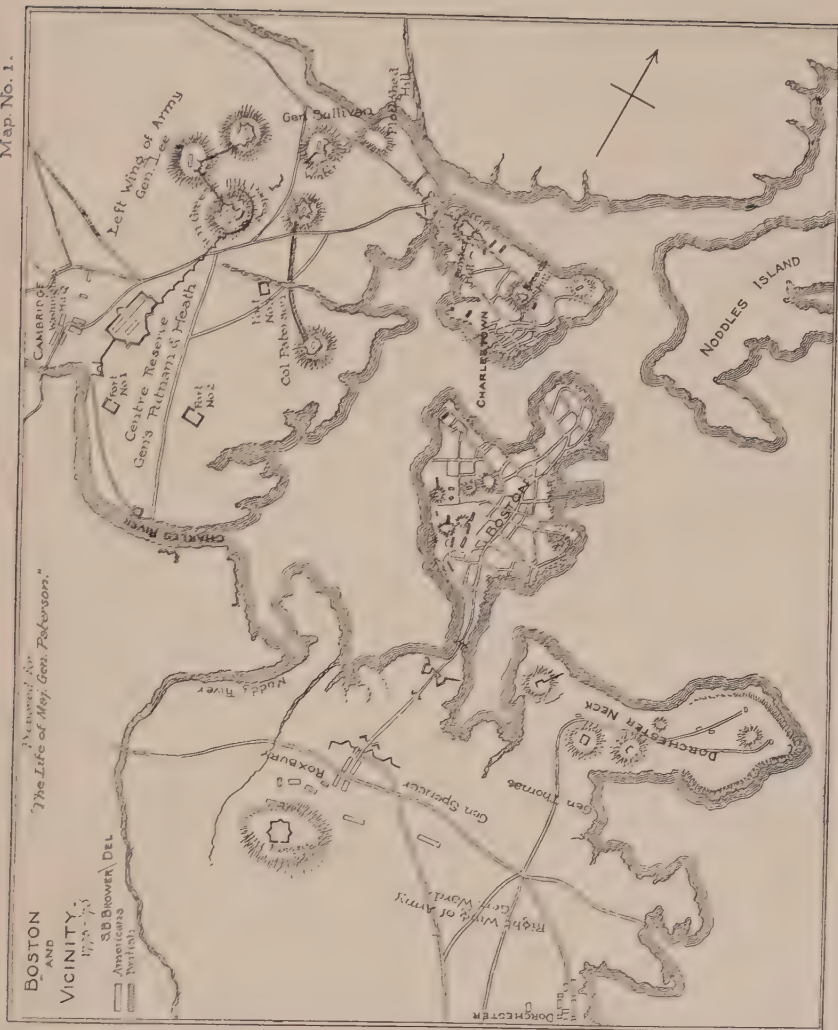
ter of necessity, with the expectation of surrendering their powers, as they eventually did, to the Continental Congress. 1775

On the 3d of June, 1776, after the troops had left Lenox, the representatives of the town in the Congress were directed to "suppress all the tyrannical measures that have or may take place from Great Britain, and likewise to take as much care that you do not set up anything of a despotic power among ourselves, but let us have freedom at home, although we have war abroad." They were further directed "to use your utmost abilities and interest with our Assembly, and they theirs with the Continental Congress, that if they think it safe for the colonies, they declare them independent of the kingdom of Great Britain. And in your so doing, we do declare, in the above-mentioned thing, We'll stand by you with our lives and fortunes." On the 16th of August, 1776, the first warrants for a town meeting were issued, "in the name and by the authority of the people of Massachusetts Bay." On January 27, 1788, the articles of confederation and perpetual union, together with the resolves of Congress, were read in town meeting, and it was "voted unanimously that they are agreeable." No persons were allowed to enter the town or to remain there unless recommended by a committee, that they were friendly to the United States of America. The families that would not be reconciled were banished and their property confiscated, or they were watched and compelled to remain at home.

These provincial congresses cannot be looked at as individual assemblies. Their history and their significance can only be appreciated by knowing the history of every town which sent representatives to them. All of the county conventions and congresses, the committees of safety, and the Continental Congress which prepared and issued the Declaration of Independence, were inspired by the same spirit, and the majority of the people in every town represented the enthusiasm of the then two millions of inhabitants of the United States. Not that there were not people who held back and considered the Revolution a mistake. There were even people who died in the last decade but one who still considered that the separa-

1775 tion from England was an error; but the spirit of revolution was abroad and was contagious, and as the most of the people came to this country only a few years before to escape the oppressions of tyranny, it was not at all surprising that they should resent them at this time.

On its arrival in Boston Colonel Paterson's regiment served nine days as minute-men. It was reorganized and enlarged, and on the 15th of June, 1775, was transferred to the Continental service, the Second Continental Congress having just adopted all the troops besieging the British in Boston who were willing to join the army. Colonel Paterson's regiment enlisted at once for a period of eight months, but before the end of that time most of the men re-enlisted for a longer time. The regiments sent by the various counties and States thus became the nucleus of the famous Continental Army, of which Washington was the commander-in-chief. Colonel Paterson's regiment became the 15th Foot in the Continental Infantry service. It was stationed about a mile and a half beyond Cambridge, and threw up the first redoubt along the lines around Boston which turned that city into a besieged town by blockading the highways and fortifying the country around. The regiment built and garrisoned Fort No. 3 (see map No. 1), at Prospect Hill, on Charlestown Heights, directly west of Bunker Hill and three miles away from it, in that part of Charlestown known as Sommerville. Colonel Paterson continued to command this fort until the evacuation of Boston. He was expressly ordered by General Ward to man and defend it at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill, on June 17, 1775, to prevent the British troops landing and getting in the rear of our army. In this they were successful. On the 12th of June, General Gage, having completed his fortifications, and having under him an army of ten thousand men, issued a proclamation offering free pardon to every rebel who would lay down his arms and return to his allegiance, except Adams and Hancock. In reply, the Committee of Safety ordered a force of twelve thousand men to take possession of Bunker Hill. On the 16th, at sunset, they started, and worked at the earth-



works during the night. In the morning they were cannon- 1775
aded by the vessels in the harbor with no effect. It was evident they must either be taken in the rear by going round to Charlestown Neck by sea and cutting them off—and this is what General Ward, the American commander, thought they would do—or be taken by assault, and this was finally decided on. The British forces started at noon, and at three o'clock were ready to storm the intrenchments. When the intelligence of the landing of the British forces reached Cambridge the alarm bells were rung and the drums beat to arms. General Ward, who was in command of the American forces, had his headquarters at Cambridge. He had only given, after much pressure, a reluctant consent to fortify the heights of Charlestown. He was fully aware of the imminent danger of an attack in his rear by the British, and reserved some of his best troops, in whom and in whose officers he could have the most implicit confidence, to prepare for the expected attack on Cambridge (and among these was Colonel Paterson's and Colonel Gardner's regiments), but he ordered the rest to Charlestown. Colonel Gardner was ordered to Colonel Paterson's station on Prospect Hill. On the morning of the battle General Ward had, against his judgment, but at the earnest solicitation of his officers, sent reinforcements to defend the redoubts on Bunker and Breed's Hills that had been thrown up in the night. When later in the forenoon he received a request for more reinforcements, he "refused to weaken further the main army at Cambridge," on the ground that it was certain to be attacked. About eleven o'clock he was prevailed on to send reinforcements. When he learned that the British had actually landed and that it had become doubtful whether the Americans could hold their intrenchments on Breed's and Bunker Hills, General Ward ordered forward his own regiment and those of Paterson and Gardner; but the order was given too late to be of any service, for, having exhausted their ammunition and being worn out with the labors of the previous night and the fighting of the day, our forces were obliged to abandon the peninsula. During the afternoon

1775 Colonel Paterson was at Jack Tuft's storehouse near to the road leading to Milk Row in Cambridge, where the wounded from the front were brought. Only one man in his regiment was wounded. After the retreat General Ward was very apprehensive that the British, encouraged by their success, would advance on Cambridge, and he took every precaution against it. But the enemy were too fearful of a reception similar to the one they had just received at Bunker Hill to undertake it. The actual fighting did not last more than an hour. James Otis, who had become harmlessly insane from the brutal and causeless attack made on him in September, 1769, fought in this battle and came out of it unharmed. Those men were not soldiers. Every man was fighting for his life and for every right that makes life dear. They were determined to preserve at all hazards what rights they had. Every man of them had been trained from boyhood never to waste ammunition, so that every officer and private was a sharp-shooter, and every bullet told. The British lost 1054 men, more than one third of the force engaged. The Americans lost 449, about one fourth of those who did the fighting. Only one of General Howe's staff survived his wounds. The British took the earthworks at Bunker Hill, but the battle belonged to the patriots. A few such victories at that time would have destroyed the British army and ended the war. In a technical sense the British won the victory, but it was a greater victory to the defeated Americans, because it taught them the lesson that a body of undisciplined men, not even militia, fighting for their rights, were capable of withstanding the attacks of a disciplined soldiery.

CHAPTER III.

SIEGE OF BOSTON TO THE BATTLE OF TRENTON.

THERE was much to be done after the battle to secure the retreat of our forces and to prevent the British from pursuing the soldiers beyond Charlestown Neck into the open country. It was Colonel Paterson's duty to defend Cambridge, which he did; but the British had suffered too heavily to make any further demonstration, and a few days found them besieged in Boston as a direct result of their victory. The news of what was then thought to be the defeat of Bunker Hill reached Lenox quickly. The town never had been before, and never has been since, lacking in patriotism of the kind that is willing to sacrifice both life and treasure in defense of liberty, and on June 26th two more companies, in addition to those already in the field, started from Lenox to join Colonel Paterson. The hurry with which the troops had left Lenox, the impromptu provision that had been made for them, and how poorly equipped they were, is shown by the petition and letter of Colonel Paterson to the Third Provincial Congress, then in session, and his letter to the Committee of Supplies at Watertown, given below:

"WATERTOWN, June 20, 1775.*

"To the Honorable Provincial Congress now sitting at Watertown:

"GENTLEMEN: The petition of John Paterson in behalf of his Regiment Humbly Sheweth that they being now at Head Quarters are put to great Inconvenience and the Hazard of their Health by reason of their being destitute of Blankets. The reasons of their not being furnished are such as follows: The Men came off upon an Alarm, and the Blankets could not be obtained in the Towns they came from; that one of the Companies in the Regiment is made up of the people who came in from

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. clxxx., p. 59.

- 1775 Boston. Your petitioner knows where the Blankets may be had upon the Credit of the Province, provided an order is given for it, which your petitioner prays may be Immediately done, and your petitioner, as in Duty Bound, shall Ever Pray, etc.

"JOHN PATERSON."

"GENTLEMEN.* the Bearer is a person who understands rigging of Guns, & the General ordered me to keep him at the Business, but cannot for want of Tools. Should be extremely obliged to you if you'd be so kind as to direct him in this affair as we have a Number of Guns in our Regiment at present useless

"I am Gentlemen Your

"Most Obedt. Servt.

"J. PATERSON

"June 28. 1775

"To the Hon^{ble} Committee of
"Supplies at Watertown."

On June 30th the Committee of Safety ordered forty small-arms to be delivered to Colonel John Paterson, which he receipted for as follows :

"June 30, 1775 †

"Received of the Committee of Safety, Forty Small Arms for the use of my Regiment amounting as by Appraisement to Seventyeight pounds, sixteen shillings and four Pence which Guns I engage shall be returned in good order unless lost in the service of this Colony

"JOHN PATERSON Collo."

The request for blankets was complied with on the same day ; but unfortunately these representations of the distress of the men were not always so promptly heeded, and when the fall came, complaints became loud and sometimes led to infractions of discipline, and on November 15th Colonel Paterson was ordered, as president of a court-martial, to try soldiers engaged in a mutiny in camp. In the light of to-day our sympathies are with the men who suffered, though not with the unlawful means they took to get redress for their wrongs, for wrongs they were. We are very apt to think that the wrong-doing was only on the British side, but as to-day we look back on the sufferings of the men in our own army, who had sacrificed everything and failed to get redress for their

* From the collection of D. McN. Stauffer, New York.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxi., p. 77.

wrongs, we are apt to ask the question in what light the actions of the provinces who rebelled against their king on account of wrongs inflicted on them, and for which they could obtain by legal means no redress, differed in any way from the rebellion of those men against their officers for wrongs no less real, which were accompanied with danger to their lives. They could obtain no redress by petition, and the privations of some of them, which they had willingly endured up to this time, cost them their lives. Their heroism was shown afterward in many a fight, and their patience in many an ill-provided camp. Those who lived saw, or thought they saw, the same fate before them. Nothing but the noblest patriotism kept them in many cases from desertion to the enemy. The Provincial Congress had neglected to forward their commissions to those who marched at so short notice after the battle of Lexington, and on October 23d Colonel Paterson forwarded to the Congress a petition from them, stating that they had served as officers from the date of raising the regiment, and asking that the commissions be sent.

"Province of } *To the Honorable Council & House of Representatives*
Massachusetts Bay } *In General Court at Watertown * Assembled :*

"GENTN: The Petition of Us the Subscribers humbly sheweth that we have been at part of the Trouble and Expense of raising Several Companies in the 26th Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Colonel John Paterson, and marching them to Camp, and have served as Officers in said Regiment, had encouragement of being Commissioned as such, but through Neglect have not yet received said Commissions. We therefore Humbly pray this Honorable Court, if they in their great Wisdom should think fit, to grant us commissions accordingly, and your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray, etc.

"JEDH SANGER 2d Lieut.

"JOHN MCKINSTRY Captain

"AMOS PORTER 2d Lieut.

"WILLIAM WALKER Adjutant

"WILLIAM WILKINS 2d Lieut.

"THOM MCKINSTRY 1st Lieut.

"JACOB LYON 2d Lieut.

"JOHN PENNOYER 2d Lieut.

"EDW. CUMSTON 2d Lieut."

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. clxiv., p. 173.

1775 "This may certify that the within-Named Officers have served in their respective Offices during the summer past.

"JOHN PATERSON Col 26th Reg.

"October 23, 1775."

On the 2d of July General Washington arrived in Cambridge, and on the following day took formal command of the army. Up to this time the army besieging Boston was composed of 16,000 men under local commanders and their own provincial flags. Artemas Ward of Massachusetts was by courtesy the commander-in-chief. In this army 11,500 men were from Massachusetts, 2300 from Connecticut, 1200 from New Hampshire, and 1000 from Rhode Island. The army was a local one. A month later the army ceased to be local, for Congress sent 3000 men from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. These men were not soldiers, most of them not even militia, but they knew how to use a gun, and were practiced hunters. They had been enlisted in the enthusiasm of the moment for various periods, and had almost nothing except a musket that belonged to a soldier's outfit; but with little to do beyond the ordinary routine of military life, and with no fighting, it was wonderful that they could be kept together. Out of this material it now devolved on Washington to make an army, to find officers for it, and to organize a capable staff. Any one of the officers and men knew all about the management of a town meeting, but they knew little or nothing about military organization. Few armies have ever had to struggle with such difficulties. The idea had taken possession of the people that the war was to be a short one; consequently the enlistments were for short periods. The result of this idea was that the army had not only to be created, but at short periods to be constantly made over. There was no properly organized government, and even Congress expected battles to be fought and won against some of the best drilled troops of Europe before this constantly made-over army was half drilled. Massachusetts was the first to elect a legislature, which was done soon after Washington's

arrival, and she ended her proclamation with, "God save the people!" instead of the usual formula, "God save the King." The other colonies followed. Still Congress was unwilling to declare the colonies independent until one more effort had been made with the king. They therefore sent delegates to act independently so as not to offend the king, for it was well known that he would not recognize the colonies as a united body; and while all the military preparations went on about Boston with great activity, Congress and the people waited patiently to hear the result of the petition. Here was an armed force in the field, an independent Congress in session, with the sole object of obtaining redress.

Samuel Adams in 1768 had made up his mind that independence was the only hope of the American people; but even Washington himself was not at that time convinced that the object of raising the army which he commanded was to gain the independence of the colonies. In course of the month of July Jefferson wrote, "We have not raised armies with designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure." The news that the king had determined to hire troops to act against his loyal and patient subjects reached Boston on October 31st; the same day the news of the burning of Portland also arrived. Congress determined that they would not wait any longer and would send no more petitions to the king, and the people supported them. They had determined to garrison Ticonderoga as a matter of precaution; now they determined on the invasion of Canada and to drive out the king's troops, and at the same time defy his authority if they could not obtain redress.

On July 22, 1775, the army was divided into three grand divisions consisting of two brigades each. Colonel Paterson's regiment, which then contained 409 men, was in the center of the left wing of the third division, commanded by Major-General Putnam. On July 22d he was ordered by General

1775 Washington to retain his position at Fort No. 3. On August 13th, November 15th, and November 17th Colonel Paterson was president of courts-martial. The conduct of the regiment on the 9th of November, 1775, in resisting an attack of the British at Lechmere's Point, now West Cambridge, was mentioned with great praise in the general orders by Washington on the next day. The tide was so high that it covered the land end of the point, and converted it at that time of day into an island. The regiment "gallantly waded through the water up to their necks in order to make the attack, and soon obliged the enemy to embark under cover of a man-of-war, a floating battery, and the fire of a battery on Charlestown Neck."* Washington said of this action that "the alacrity of the riflemen and officers upon this occasion did them honor, to which Colonel Paterson's regiment and some others were equally entitled." The regiment was again shortly afterward praised for its ability in resisting the attack of a marauding party at the same place, who were supported by the guns of a frigate.

The regiment was constantly engaged in the siege of Boston until it was evacuated. The three regiments commanded by Ward, Putnam, and Paterson were declared to be "the flower of the Continental Army." On the 28th of December the eight regiments then at Cambridge were reorganized, both the men and officers having been satisfied that it was wisest to enlist for a longer period.

In October, 1775, the term of enlistment of most of the troops had expired, and so many of the men refused to re-enlist that Washington's situation at Cambridge was really precarious. Fortunately, a knowledge of this did not reach the British commander. A committee of the Continental Congress visited Cambridge on October 22, 1775, and after consultation with Washington resolved to enlist a new army for a year. Colonel Paterson filled his regiment, but the re-enlistment was slow in all the regiments. On the whole, the ranks were better filled than before. The 1st of January,

* Letter of General Washington to the president of Congress.

1776, found a new army, and a flag with thirteen stripes. On 1776 the same day the king's speech to Parliament, declaring that "a rebellious war" was carried on to establish an independent empire, was read in camp, and the issue accepted by the Massachusetts troops, who thenceforward commenced to substitute for the title "His Gracious Majesty" the epithet of "that man George." The idea of independence was accepted by the troops then and there assembled, but the idea of loyalty was so thoroughly engrafted in the early education of every man, woman, and child, that it was not until long after that the people as a whole accepted it.

In January, 1776, the regiment went into barracks on Prospect Hill. On January 8th it was thought desirable to dislodge the British who occupied houses in Charlestown below Bunker Hill. This was accomplished between eight and nine in the evening, without the loss of a man, the regiment showing the greatest prowess, daring, and bravery. On February 3d Colonel Paterson presided at a court-martial. On March 12th he issued the discharge papers of a number of soldiers: "This certifies that the within-named persons were soldiers in my regiment until discharged by General Washington.—JOHN PATERSON, Col." On March 13, 1776, he was one of the field-officers. The same day at a council of war "it was concluded that, should Boston be evacuated, it would be unnecessary to employ the army for the defense of Massachusetts, as its militia were adequate for this work." Orders were issued at once for the Massachusetts troops to march for New York, but they did not march until the 18th. On the 15th a fire broke out in the regimental barracks, which consumed six rooms and considerable ammunition. Colonel Paterson took charge of putting out the fire, and showed the greatest bravery and personal courage in doing it.

On February 27th the victory of Moore's Creek, N. C., took place, with the capture of two thousand stand of arms and fifteen thousand pounds in gold, which for the South had the same effect as Lexington for the North, and resulted in the raising of ten thousand men, so the British dared not attempt

1776 to get a foothold there. On May 14th Virginia instructed her delegates to vote for the declaration that the United Colonies were "free and independent States." On the 1st of March, 1776, some of the captured cannon and stores from Ticonderoga arrived in Cambridge. On March 4th it was determined to fortify Dorchester Heights, and in the night it was done. The attention of the British had been drawn away from what was going on by a cannonade from Somerville, East Cambridge, and Roxbury. When, the next morning, Howe saw what had been done during the night, he determined to take the position, and he ordered an attack; but a violent storm and the recollection of Bunker Hill made them put it off for a day, and the position had then become impregnable, and Boston could no longer be held. Howe determined to evacuate, but, as he threatened to burn the town if fired on, he was allowed to go unmolested. He left behind him more than two hundred cannon, ten times more powder than the army had ever seen before, and an immense number of muskets, and military stores of all sorts.

The British evacuated Boston, March 17, 1776. The regiment marched for New York on the 18th. It was stationed for a short time on Staten Island, for the defense of New York. Almost the first act of Washington on his arrival in New York, on April 13, 1776, was to send four battalions to the relief of the army in Canada, under the command of Brigadier-General Thompson, and among these was Colonel Paterson's regiment. In order to render the march less fatiguing, they sailed from New York on April 21st, and went up the Hudson to Albany, to be under General Gates. On the 23d Washington announced the departure of these troops, with great pride, to the Continental Congress. Colonel Paterson's regiment then had six hundred men in fine condition and well equipped, but before it arrived in Canada General Montgomery had fallen, and Arnold, wounded, had retreated to Montreal. They were too late to participate in any action or share any glory which might have been won if they had arrived sooner, but were in plenty of time to share the suf-

ferings of the rest of the troops. Early in May they were in 1776
Montreal, where they suffered severely from the small-pox,
which made such ravages that on the 7th of May the whole
regiment was ordered to be vaccinated.

John Adams visited the camp, and wrote as follows under
date of July 7, 1776 :

“Our army at Crown Point is an object of wretchedness enough to
fill a humane mind with horror : disgraced, defeated, discontented, dis-
pirited, diseased, naked, undisciplined, eaten up with vermin, no clothes,
beds, blankets, no medicines, no victuals but salt pork and flour. . . . I
hope that measures will be taken to cleanse the army at Crown Point
from the small-pox, and that other measures will be taken in New Eng-
land, by tolerating and encouraging inoculation, to render the disease
less terrible.”

The process of inoculation, which had been introduced from
Turkey by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, consisted of infect-
ing the patient with the genuine small-pox virus after his
system had been prepared for it, and by a specific treatment
afterward. Of course there was a very small percentage of
deaths under the treatment, which needed the most assiduous
and skillful medical attendance ; but in the way small-pox
then ravaged the country at frequent intervals it was more
safe to risk the disease in this form than when encountered
naturally without preparation. But ordinary men fear more
an immediate certain danger than that which is distant and
uncertain, although in reality more terrible. Thus in Berk-
shire, while Dr. Timothy Childs of Pittsfield, surgeon of Gen-
eral Paterson's first regiment, had urgently advised inocula-
tion, the popular prejudice against it was so great that it was
only possible by great effort sometimes to get the permission
of a Berkshire town to permit the establishment of a small-
pox hospital for inoculation. Many of the better informed peo-
ple of the county protected themselves by this process in a hos-
pital at Sheffield, and Colonel Paterson was probably among
them, as he did not suffer from the disease, to which he was
greatly exposed. In a letter written by General Arnold to
the Commissioners in Canada, dated Sorel, May 7, 1776, he

1776 says: "I think it advisable to inoculate Colonel Paterson's regiment at Montreal, Colonel Bedel's at the Cedars, and the troops posted at La Prairie and Longuiel at Sorel; and to send all the troops at Montreal who have had the small-pox to Sorel; and to send 500 or 600 from Sorel to Montreal, because of the difficulty of providing quarters for so many at Sorel." By this time they knew that the Canada expedition was hopeless, for on May 6th the British fleet appeared in the St. Lawrence, reinforcements to the extent of 13,000 men under Burgoyne had arrived, and retreat was inevitable.

On May 14th they were still in Montreal, waiting for provisions; on June 8th Colonel Paterson was at Sorel and had only six men fit for duty; all the rest were in the hospital sick from vaccination. In the disastrous battle of the Cedars, fought the last of that month, in which engagement the British employed Indians, who butchered in cold blood, the regiment, although showing prodigies of valor, lost heavily in killed and wounded, and sixty-seven were taken prisoners. In June they retreated by way of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. On June 28th the battle at Fort Moultrie, S. C., saved that State from any further depredations for two years, but it helped the other colonies but little.

Up to about this time all that had been done was in the hope of getting redress. The king had, however, refused to receive the delegation sent to him, either as representatives of the colonies or as individuals, and had besides hired German soldiers to subdue them; and this last act was what made the immediate declaration of independence possible. The idea of separation, even after the wanton burning of Portland on October 16, 1775, found few supporters; but when the news of the hiring of 20,000 Hessians came, every one was ready for it. This act of sending mercenaries against them seems to have operated more powerfully than any other single thing on the minds of the people, and made them more determined than ever to resist. As if to complete the dissatisfaction already existing, Parliament also proposed an act closing all American ports and authorizing the confiscation not only of all

American ships and cargoes, but those of any neutral nation 1776 which should dare to trade with them as well. It directed the commanders of all British vessels to impress all seamen on American ships. In March Congress retaliated by opening the ports of the colonies to all nations, authorized the issuing of letters of marque, and ordered all Tories who refused to contribute to the common defense to be disarmed. This was virtually, but not actually, a declaration of war, but Congress waited before declaring it for instructions from the colonies. The first step was taken by North Carolina on February 27, 1776, where the victory of Moore's Creek had the same effect as the battle of Lexington in Massachusetts. Within ten days an army of ten thousand militia was raised. They organized a Provincial Congress, and instructed the delegates in the Continental Congress to act with the other colonies, and so all the colonies came into line in a common cause against a common enemy. On the 15th of May Congress recommended all the colonies to form an independent government and to choose their own; and they acted very promptly, and in less than six weeks the governments were formed, delegates to the Continental Congress appointed, and instructed to vote for independence. These governments solemnly promulgated the Declaration of Independence, and then, amid the huzzas of the crowds who assembled to hear it, solemnly removed the insignia of royalty from all the places where the king's authority had been previously recognized, and burned them in the public streets amid the acclamations of the citizens. New York was the last to accept the Declaration of Independence. That State, however, adopted it on July 9th, and celebrated the occasion by melting down the leaden statue of King George III. on the Bowling Green in New York City and casting it into bullets. The Declaration of Independence was made only after eleven years of constant and unprovoked irritation. So extreme had been the forbearance and determination to bear and suffer so long as there was any hope of redress, that it was interpreted as a sign of weakness. The Revolution was declared to be the intrigue of a few instead

1776 of the determination of a free people to be and to remain free. Years before they had written to Parliament: "We rode out the dangers of the seas; shall we perish in port?" Parliament never answered the question, and now they answered it themselves by the Declaration of Independence. It was a declaration that the people were unanimous in the determination that Great Britain should abandon her pretended right to impose taxes and revoke charters, and never in the darkest days of the Revolution did one of the States propose to reconsider their action. Washington, on taking command of the army on July 3, 1775, had raised a flag with thirteen stripes, representing the thirteen colonies, but it retained the cross of St. George. When on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was received with every sign of joyful approval, as if it had been a decree promulgated from heaven, this cross was replaced by thirteen stars.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point had surrendered to us on May 11, 1775. It was the strategic center of the whole north country, commanding as it does the approaches to the Hudson River. On that day the Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia, and two or three days later St. John's also surrendered to our forces, but after a siege of fifty days surrendered again to the British on November 3d. These victories gave the army great quantities of military stores, guns, and cannon. In their retreat from Canada by way of Crown Point under the command of General Gates, Colonel Paterson's regiment, which was in the 3d Brigade, occupied and strongly fortified Mount Independence, on the other side of the bay and opposite to Ticonderoga, and remained there during the summer. On August 24th Colonel Paterson was put in the 2d Brigade. On September 22d he was ordered to Fort George. On October 16th he commenced to build barracks at Fort George and at Stillwater. When Crown Point was taken and abandoned by the enemy, Colonel Paterson, who had on September 30th been recommended to Congress for promotion, was already doing the duty of a general. On October 16th the army was preparing to build barracks at Fort

George and Stillwater. On October 26th all the brigades were 1776 ordered to go to him for orders in case of any general alarm. The bridge which connected the fort with the mainland was broken away by heavy storms of wind and rain; but afterward, the cold being very great, the lake froze, and the communication was made over the ice. On November 17th the regiment was still at Mount Independence, and contained 331 men fit for duty. After the abandonment of Crown Point by the British, General Schuyler, who was in command at Ticonderoga, was able to send reinforcements to Washington, who was retreating through New Jersey, and among others Colonel Paterson's regiment was sent. On November 18th, with parole "The Congress" and countersign "Independence," they were ordered to embark at Lake George as soon as boats could be provided for them. A few days later they left there and came down with Gates and his command to Saratoga. On November 24th General Gates put his corps under orders for Albany. The regiments with him, of which Colonel Paterson's was one, did not average more than three hundred men fit for duty, so great had been the ravages of disease among them. On November 19th Colonel Paterson reported 331 men fit for duty in his regiment. They were enlisted only until the end of the year. He was short of provisions, and was fearful for the safety of Washington. On November 26th he left Saratoga for Albany, where he received orders to reinforce General Washington. They left Albany December 3d. They were to have gone direct to New Windsor by water, but as vessels enough for that purpose could not be procured, they went to Esopus by sloop; from there they marched to New Windsor. On December 8th they were at Peekskill. From there they went to Goshen, expecting to rendezvous at Sussex Court-house on December 14th. They passed through the Minisink country; then through Sussex County. On December 20, 1776, they halted at Morristown, and then, crossing the river at Easton, joined Washington's army, which was retreating through New Jersey, at Newton, Penn., on the west bank of the Delaware. Colonel Paterson reported with 220 out of

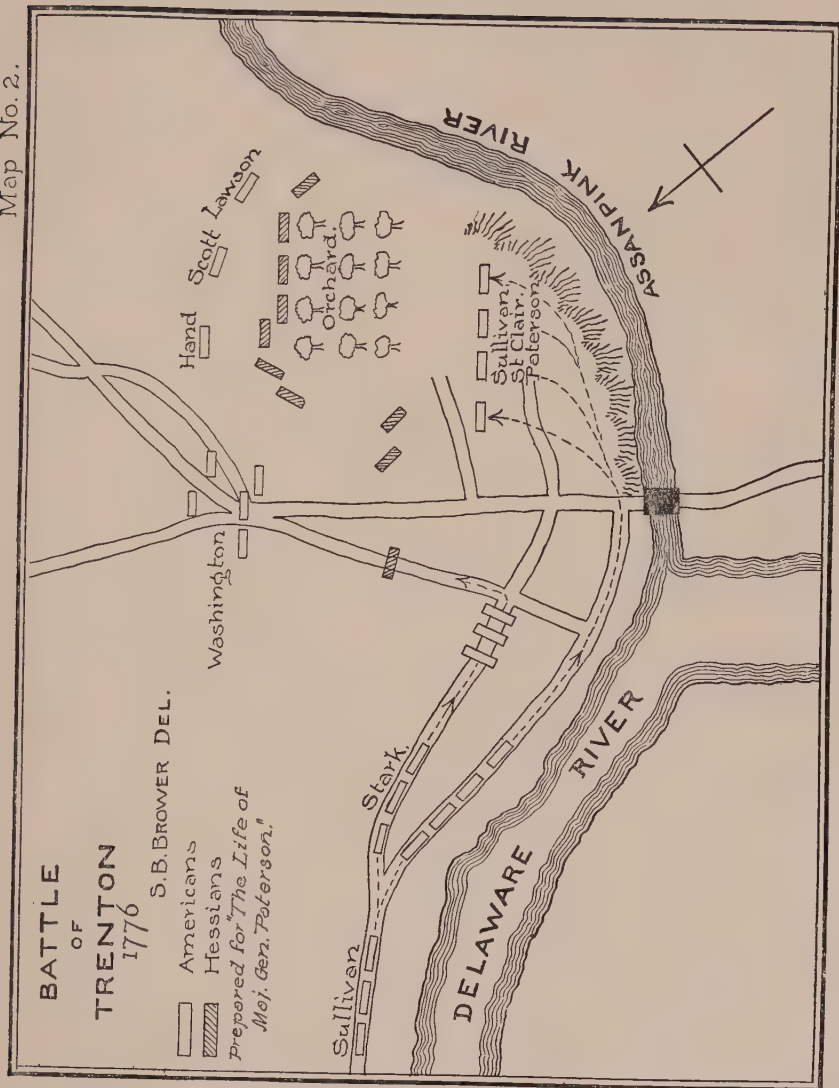
1776 the 600 men in the well-appointed regiment with which he left New York on April 21st for the northern campaign. The others had been killed in the various encounters, been tomahawked by savages, taken prisoners by the enemy, or had died from want of proper care, from the ravages of small-pox, or from exposure. Most of them had no tents and had left their homes without any other covering than their ordinary clothing. It needed the conviction that they were fighting for a great principle to keep any of them alive. There were many widows whose husbands had enlisted in that regiment, hoping for a short, decisive, but victorious war, and expecting to return to their farms when the war was over, but who never reached even Newton; and many were the women left with a family of small children who cleared their farms, and, suffering all the privations of early settlers, brought up their families, giving them good educations and making them loving and dutiful children and loyal and useful citizens. Little do the men of this generation know what it cost the wives, mothers, and daughters of that generation. They do not get the praise, but they are entitled to it, for they gave the education in great principles and the encouragement to act as brave men which made heroes out of their husbands, sons, and brothers; while their names are lost, the great principles which they sowed have taken root all over the world. There is no honor too great to be shown to those wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters. Yet how little we hear of the women of the American Revolution. The influence which the women of that time had upon political events cannot be overestimated. The privations and dangers and sufferings came to them in a much more vivid way than they came to the soldiers, for they at least had the solace of excitement, while the women had no such stimulus to aid them. But they were as patriotic as the men. The mothers urged their sons, the wives their husbands, and the daughters their brothers, to join in this great movement for a free government, in the full realization that, whatever *they* might suffer, their descendants would reap the benefits, which could not be estimated.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM TRENTON TO VALLEY FORGE.

THOSE December days of 1776 were days of great discour- 1776
agement. Fort Washington had been taken by the British on November 16th. It was one of the worst blows of the whole war. In full retreat, General Lee, who was then considered the best officer of the army, was a prisoner. The army had been defeated in the northern campaign. Canada had been abandoned. Many of the men had lost heart; they were discouraged and homesick. The terms of enlistment of most of the men were expiring, so that in about ten days he would have only 1400 men, miserably provided for, and many of them were unwilling to re-enlist. The war had opened two years before with the enthusiasm which can only be generated by the conviction that there are great wrongs to be redressed, or great rights to be asserted. Money was raised without trouble, men enlisted of their own accord, were urged to enlist by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, or were compelled to enlist by public sentiment. The war was to be short; patriotism and self-sacrifice were to be triumphant; the country was to emerge soon from a great struggle, and to become at once prosperous. This was the ideal; but when, after months of toil, sacrifice, and suffering, it was plain that the war was to continue for no one could tell how long, it became difficult to procure men. Values, which are so sensitive in the face of uncertainties, fell; prices rose. The contractor grew rich, the patriot became poor. Those who had been carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, or who had been

1776 forced to be patriotic from fear of public opinion, grew tired of the war. It was already a failure, they said, and "the peace at any price" party began to be powerful. This was the hour of trial, and the real patriots, such as Washington, General Paterson, and thousands of others, became stronger in their devotion to their country than ever before. General Lee began to conspire, and the arguments and trials which make traitors like Arnold and Lee were in full force. Under these very discouraging circumstances Washington determined on a most brilliant project, which saved the army and that campaign. The British were in winter quarters, comfortably settled, and could not be easily called together on any sudden alarm. The Hessians were on the east bank of the Delaware. Lord Cornwallis, sure that "there was no spirit left in the rebel army," had asked leave of absence, to return to England. Washington had between 5000 and 6000 men fit for service, and with these he proposed to cross the river at different points and attack the Hessians. He seized all the boats he could use for many miles up and down the river, and those he could not use he destroyed, and made the crossing on Christmas Eve in a heavy storm. Paterson's regiment crossed the river with 170 men present for duty. It was in St. Clair's brigade, which was the reserve on the river road, and in Sullivan's command. Washington had selected his best officers to go with him, and with only 2400 men in his whole command, many of whom failed to join him on account of the cold and the wind, in a storm of hail and snow, on Christmas Day, routed the British forces completely. He gave his soldiers the countersign "Victory or Death." He took nearly 1000 prisoners and 32 officers. He went back after the battle to the west side of the river. The Hessians, who were hated in New Jersey on account of the outrages they had committed there, were sent at once to Pennsylvania. The others were guarded and kindly treated. On the 29th the troops recrossed the river to the east side. Owing to the ice in the river, the crossing occupied two days. They were at the end of the year. The time of enlistment of the best troops was up. In the face of the enemy, in im-



minent danger, they were persuaded to re-enlist. The days 1777 that were lost in the crossing and recrossing of the Delaware had given the enemy time to collect their forces. Lord Cornwallis was advancing on Trenton with 7000 or 8000 men. Washington could not retreat without destroying all hope of future success. He could only collect 3600 men. He stationed himself on the east side of the Assanpink River at a small stone bridge. See Map No. 3. Lord Cornwallis advanced to this point, but was so harassed and delayed by the condition of the roads that he did not reach it until nearly sunset of January 2, 1777. He at once commenced a brisk fire over the river, which he kept up until dark, but was repeatedly repulsed in his attempts to cross, and when night came both parties rested, waiting for the decisive action of the next day. Our forces were in a desperate state. There was only a small stream, which was easily fordable in several places, between them and a much superior force. To risk a general action was to insure defeat. Retreat over the Delaware was impossible on account of the ice. There was no way but to go forward. The weather in the morning had been so mild that a thaw had set in, but toward night it froze hard. Keeping up all the appearances of fortifying the camp within sight of the British with much noisy demonstration on their river-front, the army was moved, in the middle of the night, toward Princeton. The 17th, 40th, and 55th British regiments were stationed at Princeton. See Map No. 3. During the day Cornwallis sent for the 17th and 55th regiments to reinforce his troops. The 17th had left Princeton for that purpose, and the 55th was preparing to leave when they were attacked by our troops. Generals Sterling and St. Clair, and Colonels Poor, Paterson, and Reed, advanced on the 55th (British) regiment, which could only retreat toward Trenton. Being closely pressed by our forces, the 55th occupied a position on the high sloping ground immediately south of Nassau Hall, of the College of New Jersey, where a ravine separated them from the Americans. The latter gained the main street in front of the college, the doors of the building were forced,

1777 and the 55th and 40th (British) regiments attempted to escape to New Brunswick, from which place Cornwallis's movement against Trenton had been made, but after a very short but severe engagement were captured.

In this fight of January 3d, known as the battle of Princeton, Colonel Paterson and his regiment acted with distinguished bravery. Lord Cornwallis felt so sure of an easy victory in the morning that he rested on the east bank of the river, and had gone to sleep on the evening of January 2d in perfect security, certain that early on the following day he would capture the whole of the American army and have the glory of having completely crushed the rebellion. On the morning of January 3d he found the army gone, and by noon of that day he was in the greatest anxiety for fear that all of his stores at Brunswick were in great danger and perhaps captured, and he retreated in hot haste, without even an engagement, to find his supplies were safe, but his prestige gone. The British were completely routed, and lost over 100 men in killed and wounded, and 230 were taken prisoners, including 14 officers. The American loss was very much smaller.

That was a memorable week. In eight days two famous victories were gained over a larger force by superior generalship. These battles of Trenton and Princeton prevented Lord Cornwallis from going in person to England "to inform the king and assure the government that the colonies were substantially subdued and the rebellion suppressed." How badly he was mistaken he afterward found out to his cost, for on the 19th of October, 1781, he surrendered his own sword to Washington.

On the 22d Major Vose was appointed to the command of his regiment as colonel, but travel was slow in those days, and orders were still issued to John Paterson as colonel.

"STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY,

"COUNCIL CHAMBER, March 1, 1777.

"Ordered that the Commissary General be and he hereby is directed to deliver Major Vose for the Use of the Men inlisted in the Regiment whereof Jhn Paterson is Colo thirty Seven Fire Arms & accoutrements

TRENTON
AND
PRINCETON

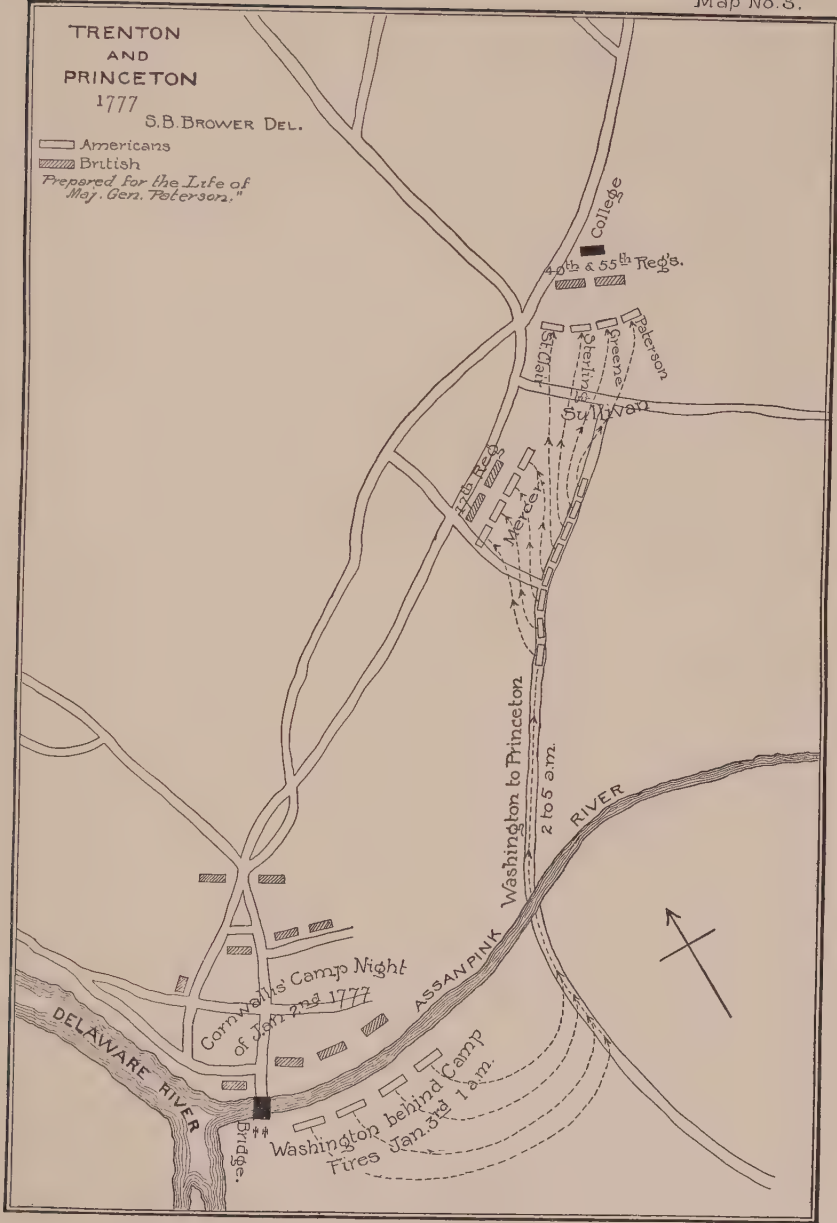
1777

S.B. BROWER DEL.

□ Americans

▨ British

*Prepared for the Life of
"May. Gen. Petersen."*



Said Vose giving a Receipt for the same and to be accountable for said 1777
Arms with their Accoutrements at the Rate of four Pounds ten Shillings
for each Arm.

"JNO AVERY Dpy Secy" *

Up to this time there had been no attempt on the part of Congress to create a regular army. There had always been in the minds of the people an intense prejudice against it. The fear that a regular army was to be quartered on them by the British Government had been one of the points that the people had resisted. The enlistments had been made only for short periods, and so much difficulty had been caused by the expiration of their terms and their re-enlistment that, on the earnest representation of Washington, Congress determined now to enlist men for the war and to receive no enlistment for a term of less than three years. Colonel Paterson had been eminently successful in re-enlisting his men, and was again commissioned to raise a regiment. Sixty-six thousand men were apportioned to the different States, but the enlistments fell short of that number. The men enlisted were to serve for three years without bounty, or were to serve during the war and secure at the end of it one hundred acres of land; but even this inducement was not always sufficient. These measures created a standing army.

Colonel Paterson had shown such ability in Canada that on the 30th of September, 1776, General Gates had recommended him to Congress as a very "deserving officer and worthy of the special notice of that body." Washington had also urged his promotion. The promotion was slow in being made.

On November 30, 1776, Colonel Paterson had been assigned to one of the new Massachusetts regiments, with rendezvous at Springfield, at which place he had been ordered to be with his officers and men on January 1, 1777, and to wait there for orders as to which army he should join; but the events of Christmas Day, 1776, and the battles of Trenton and Princeton,

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. clxxiii., p. 115.

1777 showed that he was too valuable a man to be kept in a subordinate position, and the order, so far as he was concerned, was never executed.

Congress, on the 16th of February, 1777, promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general. He was commissioned on the 21st, and assigned to the northern department.

In April the following resolve was passed relating to his successor:

“STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

“In the House of Representatives April 22 1777 This House made choice by ballot of Joseph Vose as Colonel of one of the fifteen Battalions to be raised in the State in the room of Coll. Paterson who is promoted

“Sent up for concurrence

“J WARREN Speaker *

“In Council April 22 1777

“Rsvd & concurred

“JNO AVERY Dpy Secy.”

General Paterson went at once to Ticonderoga. General Gates sent an aide-de-camp to Bennington with a letter, expecting to meet him there, but he writes from Albany, under date of April 23d, that, to his amazement, General Paterson had used such dispatch that he had gone on to Ticonderoga alone. From the plots of the Tories, he says that he considers Albany and the different magazines between that city and Lake George need more troops.† General Paterson arrived in good time at Ticonderoga, and was there in St. Clair's division, engaged in fortifying it and Mount Independence. The regiment which he had commanded had had but a poor supply of arms, and on March 1st an order in council was given for arms to be sent, but on April 2d there were still 250 men in the regiment who had none. That they were destitute of other necessities appears from a letter from Ticonderoga, written on May 2d, and addressed to the president of the council, as follows:

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cexiii., p. 332.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxcvii., p. 5.

*"To the President of Council : **

1777

"GENTLEMEN : The many Difficulties this Garrison labors under will, I flatter myself, be a sufficient Excuse for my troubling you with this.

"The Soldiers are chiefly destitute of Blankets, some are without Shoes or Stockings, etc., etc., the want of which renders it extremely Difficult, indeed almost impracticable, to keep up the Necessary Duty, such as Scouting, Guarding, Fatigue, etc., which in this rainy, cold Climate you must be sensible is not only tedious, but very detrimental to the Health of the Army unless supplied with these very necessary articles.

"The Garrison is at present very weak, not more than Nineteen Hundred Men sick and well, this Number composed of Soldiers, Carpenters, Seamen on board the Fleet, Blacksmiths, Armorers, etc.; the Men, therefore, are continually on Duty of some sort—Numbers of them now destitute of shoes, and by far the greater part without Blankets—must therefore beg of you, Gentlemen, that we may be speedily supplied.

"The Stores of Rum, Sugar, etc., from Massachusetts State were exhausted before my arrival at this place; it will be very necessary that we have at least a small supply of those Articles for the Sick which are now in Camp.

"I think it of Great Importance that the Troops destined for the Defense of this Post be sent without Delay. We have had no late intelligence from Canada, but from their seeming Supineness it is generally believed they are meditating and preparing for some important Stroke.

"General Wayne, before he left this place, wrote desiring the Militia of the county of Berkshire and the Hampshire Grants to reinforce him, but the Disturbances at Albany have taken them that way.

"The Work necessary to put this place in a proper State of Defense is far from being complete, but I am pushing it on as fast as the Debilitated State of the Garrison will permit.

"I am, Gentlemen, Your Honors' most Obedient and humble Servant,

"JOHN PATERSON.

"TICONDEROGA, May 2, 1777."

On the 19th of May things still appear to be in a very unfavorable condition, as is shown by the following letter :

"TICONDEROGA May 19. 1777

"To Ye Honble Genll Court of the Massachusetts State or to the Honble Council : †

"I beg Leave to Inform your Honrs That I have repaired to this place and Informed myself of the State of the Army And find them in Tolerable good Health & In high Spirits, considering they are in want of

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxevii., p. 12.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxevii, p. 59.

1777 almost Everything but meat & Bread & peas that is good. But Distress for want of Comfortable Stores. There is News that is Credited that the Stores & the Gen^l House at St Johns is Consumed by fire In our favor by kind Providence Your favour p. me is very kindly Recd & your care for them His Hon. Gen^l Paterson Coll Marshall & others in Rank have wrote I do not find but that the Com^{ssy} Majr Smith bears a good character

"I omit writing particulars in as much as Gentlemen has wrote, That feels for themselves & Soldiers By reason of uncommon Rain & mud beyond expression It is Difficult moving Stores But there must be no delay

"Only Beg leave to Subscribe your Honrs most Obedt Humble Servt
"ASA DOUGLAS."

On the 30th of June General Paterson wrote to Congress on behalf of Captain Goodrich:

"HONORABLE GENTLEMEN: Capt William Goodrich who was taken prisoner at Quebeck Winter before last, and since redeemed by Exchange has been since the first of March last, doing duty as Majr of Brigade to the Brigade under my Command, and as he has not a Commission as Majr of Brigade this is to request you would please to order one made out for him.

"Your Compliance will oblige

"Honorable Gentlemen Your most Obedt and verry Hble Servt

"JOHN PATERSON.

"To the Honorable Council.

"TICONDEROGA, June 3, 1777."

"In Council June 26, 1777 Read & ordered that Capt Wm Goodrich be commissioned as a Major of the Brigade whereof John Paterson Esq is Brigadier.

"JNO AVERY Dpy Secy." *

On the 9th of June General Gates, who had been in command, left, and General Schuyler succeeded him. He at once ordered all the forts to be put into the best condition for service, and appealed to the States to forward their militia, and on the 20th made a personal inspection of the post, as he considered it to be in a dangerous position, not only because of the unsatisfactory condition in which he found the army, who were in need of all kinds of supplies, but also because they were not in a proper state of discipline. The troops were not.

* Revolutionary Rolls, vol. xxvi., p. 264.

numerous enough to hold out against any protracted siege. 1777
The whole garrison in both places was, including artisans and 900 militia-men, only 2546 men. On July 2d General Paterson was officer of the day.

It was necessary for the British, both from a commercial and a military point of view, to obtain the complete control of New York State. The population was not large, and there were many royalists among the people. Its complete subjugation, it was thought, would have such a moral effect on the other provinces as to cause them to surrender, while its military occupation would give them control of the great waterways and access to Canada. It was thought at first that it would be an easy task, but after Carleton's retreat from Crown Point, which enabled Schuyler to reinforce Washington with such disastrous results to the British, they thought in 1777 to work out a plan which would be more successful. They now held Canada and New York Island, and in order to secure the rest of the State by attacking it from three points at once, Colonel St. Leger was to go to Oswego and reduce Fort Stanwix, and then come down the Mohawk valley; Burgoyne was to come down Lake Champlain, take Albany and Hudson, and all the points on Lake Champlain and hold them, and then join his forces with St. Leger's; Sir William Howe was to come up the Hudson and join the others, and with this united force of 80,000 men it was supposed that the capture of New York State would be complete. The idea that the plan could fail from any cause does not appear to have entered the minds of the English ministry. Its success depended on its being carried out perfectly, and on junctions being effected by the three commanders. Unconditional orders were prepared early in the year for the three commanders, and were received by St. Leger and Burgoyne, but not by Howe. St. Leger started as ordered, and met with a disastrous defeat, the news of which reached Burgoyne just after the battle of Bennington; but he had no choice but to move south, expecting to be reinforced by Howe coming north. General Lee, who had been taken prisoner, commenced a series of traitorous intrigues with the Howes,

1777 which, however, came to nothing. As Sir William Howe had no unconditional orders he felt himself at liberty to execute any maneuver that seemed to him to be wise. He thought it best, to insure the success of his own plans, to start south in order to capture Washington's army in New Jersey, and he put off the carrying out of the expedition to the north until he had captured it. He was convinced that he would then have plenty of time to go up the Hudson. Washington's superior strategy foiled his efforts, although he had only 8000 men and the British had 18,000. In the meantime Howe heard of the capture of Ticonderoga, and felt satisfied that Burgoyne could take care of himself, and set sail for Philadelphia, with the result of the defeat of Washington both at the Brandywine and at Germantown, but these victories made it impracticable for him to go to Burgoyne. He received in August the unconditional order to move north to the support of Burgoyne, but it was impossible for him to go then, and if it had been possible, he could not have reached the Hudson in time to coöperate with him. Burgoyne's orders left him nothing to do but to move south. Early in June he took the field with an army of 7900 men. He had with him some of the ablest officers and best-drilled troops in the British army, and was confident of success.

On the second anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, General Burgoyne began to cross the lake to Crown Point. On July 1st he was before Ticonderoga. As our position at that place had become very dangerous, at a council of war held on June 20th application was made to Washington for reinforcements, which did not arrive, and on July 5th it was decided to abandon the position. Ticonderoga had been fortified with the greatest care and was considered impregnable, but the key to the whole situation had been neglected. It was a crag which rises 600 feet above the lake, about a mile south of the fort, and which commanded it. It was so difficult of access that no one thought it could be fortified. The possibility of its being occupied by the enemy does not appear to have been even contemplated. As the British surround the fort the garrison look forward to an assault. The officers and men were confident that they could

maintain their ground until the expected reinforcements arrived, but on the morning of July 5th the red coats of the British soldiers appeared on the top of this crag, and their brass cannon glistened in the sun. They named the crag Fort Defiance. Ticonderoga had thus, unperceived by our forces, been turned into a trap. There was to be no fighting; Ticonderoga was already practically taken by the British. There was nothing to do but to evacuate as quickly as possible. Early in the morning, at a council of war at which all the commanding officers were present, the position was declared untenable. General Paterson was present at both of these councils. On the 6th of July both forts were evacuated, with the effect of making the enemy, both at home and abroad, again confident that the "rebellion" would soon be put down, "as this oversight on the part of the Americans in not fortifying so commanding a position showed that they had no capable men." It was exactly the same mistake that the British general (Howe) made in neglecting to fortify Dorchester Heights in 1775. The evacuation was effected during the night as well as the hurried preparations would permit. It was made known to the British by the accidental setting fire to a house in the very early morning, which discovered to them the rear-guard of the American army. In less than an hour the British occupied the empty fortress with a thousand men. But for the great activity of General Burgoyne the American army would have come off without harm, but he divided his forces and harassed them in every direction. General Fraser with 900 men at once started in pursuit. He was followed in a few hours by Riedsdale, while Burgoyne started up the lake with the main army. On the morning of the 7th the rear-guard of 1000 men of the American army was overtaken six miles behind the main army at Hubarton (Hubardton, Rutland Co., Vt.). An obstinate fight ensued, in which the British were at first repulsed, but when the Hessian reinforcements came up under Riedsdale the Americans were defeated with the loss of one third of their number. General Paterson's brigadier-major (Bement) was wounded and taken

1777 prisoner in this fight. It was a serious loss to the Americans, but it checked the pursuit, and five days later the retreating army reached Fort Edward and joined the main army under Schuyler. On July 12th General Paterson reported at Fort Edward.

"At a Council of General Officers held at Fort Edward the 20th day of July 1777

"Present

"Major General Schuyler
 "Major General St Clair
 "Brigadier General Nixon
 "Brigadier General Poor
 "Brigadier General Paterson
 "Brigadier General Learned
 "Brigadier General Ten Broeck
 "Brigadier General Fellows

"General Schuyler informed the Council that application had been made to him by several of the officers of the Militia to return to their Habitations. He also laid before the Council the Examination of Colonel Cilley's Son and a servant of General Poor sent in by the Enemy and those of two Soldiers of the 21st Regiment who were made prisoners by one of our Scouts about Six miles below Fort Ann. After reading this information General Schuyler begged the sense of the Council upon the following Questions.

"1st Whether in our present situation and that of the Enemy at Skenesborough it would be prudent to dismiss any of our Militia?

"2dly If that measure is thought prudent, what proportion of the Militia ought to be discharged?

"3dly What will be the most eligible mode of discharging part of them, so as not to give too much umbrage to such as shall be ordered to remain?

"4thly Whether, if it must be thought expedient to dismiss part of the Militia, any of the Militia of the County of Hampshire in the State of Massachusetts Bay, and of the County of Litchfield in the State of Connecticut which are just come up, and which the General is informed, are only Drafts and not the whole Force of those Counties, should be suffered to return?

"On the first and second questions, the Council are of opinion that altho' the Army is already inferior to that of the least number of the Enemy, of which we have an account yet, considering the distress that may be brought on the Country, at this very critical Time when the Harvest is so near at hand should the whole of the Militia be detained, and

in hope that a reinforcement of Continental Troops will be sent up; that one half of the Militia be permitted to return Home. 1777

"On the third Question the Council recommend that the Brigadier Generals of Militia together with their Field Officers, adopt such measures as shall appear best adapted to answer the purpose:

"Upon the fourth Question the Council are unanimously of opinion that the Militia of the County of Hampshire in the Massachusetts Bay and those of the State of Connecticut should be detained and that General Schuyler write to the President of the State of Massachusetts Bay for a Relief of those Counties of Berkshire & Hampshire that will be left here and for a reinforcement of not less than one thousand Rank and File from the state of Connecticut.

"PH SCHUYLER

"AR ST. CLAIR

"JOHN NIXON

"ENOCH POOR

"JOHN PATTERSON

"EBENZR LEARNED

"JOHN FELLOWS

"ABRAM TEN BROECK" *

"FORT MILLER 27th July 1777

"To the Honorable Council and Honorable House of Representatives of the Massachusetts State†

"May it please your Honors.

"On the Sad & Melancholly Sixth Instant I with the army Left Ticonderoga and Next Morning upon advice first from General Paterson & Other lower Officers and also from General St Clair—after Certain Information that the Enemy followed and Overtook our Boats, before Some Arrived to Skeensborough &c. by which means I lost my all (Money only Excepted) I Left the Army at Castleton Soon after was Informed that The Enemy were Come to Fort George Therefore what of our Stores were left There I concluded must be Lost. Therefore Judged it my duty to Return Lodge the Money Procure Invoices and return Back which I accomplished with Mr. Breck at Northampton & returned. On my return Found the Enemy had not Visited Fort George.—Nevertheless the Stores left at Fort George by Mr Wright were brought off with the Continental Stores in Such Haste, that no proper Distinction was kept. I have Till Yesterday Improved my Time Industriously to Search out & Secure the States Property, with some, tho' Little Success. Beg Leave Further to Inform your Honors, that upon Application to General Schuyler to Enable me to Take into Custody what I might find of the property of the Massachusetts State, he was pleased to Order as Follows viz

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxlvi., p. 398.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxcvii., p. 348.

1777 "Sir you are to take into your Care all the Liquors & Other Stores which you may find on the Ground Belonging to the State of Massachusetts Bay—& are to Issue no Liquors without An Order from Head Quarters you will make a return of the Quantity you have on Hand.

"JAMES WILKINSON D. A. General.

"HEAD QUARTERS, July 25, 1777.

"To Major Smith."

"Now may it please your Honors after I Rec'd the Afore Mentioned Orders I made Search & found Two Hdds Rum (not Full) one Hdd Sugar Four bbs Ginger one bl Oatmeal one bl peper (much out) then Through Discouragement gave out and Applied to General Schuyler Intreating his Honor not to Interfere in his Orders with the Orders of my Constituents (as no man can Serve Two Masters) Much was said on the Subject. I Tho't I did my duty on the Occasion General Paterson being present was not Wanting but did his part According to his Much Better Abilities But to no (appearance) of Effect—The General (no doubt) is determined in the affair as also Brigadier General Poor from New Hampshire State Appeared Resolutely determined to Obtain if possible an Eaquel privilege with General Paterson or any Gentlemen from our State as Tho' these Stores were the property of the Continent Beg Leave Farther to Inform your Honors that I did Most Earnestly Entreat General Schuyler not to Force me in Between Two hot fires but if His was determined (as Before Mentioned) to take the Stores out of my Hands & dismiss me, or Confine me, or any Thing his Honor pleased, Rather than Compell me to Violate my Trust & my Orders Rec'd Much was Argued on the Subject more than I can relate in my present Hurry. The General was Generous to me in Everything but his Fixed purposes I therefore Judged it my Indispensable duty to Report to your Honors & Humbly beg direction Earnestly Intreating for direction as Soon as Possible—Meantime beg leave to give it as my Humble Opinion (from what I see & Hear) that the Regiment from our State would be less dissatisfied to have Nothing sent Them or all the Stores (Clothing Excepted) Removed back rather than to have those of Other States have an Eaquel Right with them or Possibly Obtain Privilidge Beyond Them.

"Pray your Honors to send me directions by the Bearer or by such hand as your Honors may appoint, as I Stand in great Need to know how to Conduct in my present Situation, Would only Inform that an Attack is hourly Expected from the Enemy, our Army are now Between Fort Edward and Fort Miller

"Have the Honor to be your Honors

"Obedient Servant

"HEZB SMITH." *

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxcvii., p. 348.

On July 28th General Paterson was at Moses Creek camp 1777 at a court-martial. On August 1st he had reached Saratoga.

No one was prepared for the shock which the evacuation of Ticonderoga caused. The people had been made to believe that the position was impregnable. The news of its loss made many feel that there was no use to continue the struggle. It was a bitter disappointment to the army, whose hopes in the North were centered on that fortress. It was a great mortification to Congress, for that body had gained great prestige by the way the fortress had been captured, and it was hoped by holding the fort to gain support both at home and abroad. Subsequent events, however, proved that its capture did not help the British in the least, for, to hold it, Burgoyne had to detach a large part of his force which he could not spare, and he was obliged subsequently to abandon it. Burgoyne now moved forward rapidly. On July 10th he had reached the head of Lake Champlain, and on July 30th, notwithstanding the fact that the roads were torn up by Schuyler, he was at Fort Edward. It was a rapid march, and he was confident of capturing the whole of the American army. On August 1st Congress, by a vote of eleven States, superseded Major-General Schuyler by Major-General Gates, who took command on the 19th of August. All the generals were ordered "to repair to headquarters that an inquiry be made as to the reasons for the evacuation." The acts and resolutions of Congress are given below:

"IN CONGRESS, 29 July 1777 *

"Resolved

"That an enquiry be made into the reasons of the evacuation of Ticonderoga & Mount Independence & into the conduct of the general officers, who were in the Northern department at the time of the evacuation.

"That a committee be appointed to digest & report the mode of conducting the enquiry.

"July 30

"Resolved

"That Major General St Clair who commanded at Ticonderoga & Mount Independence forthwith to Head Quarters

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cexiv., p. 444.

1777

“August 1st.

*“Resolved**“That Major General Schuyler be directed to repair to Head Quarters**“That general Washington be directed to order such general-officer as he shall think proper, immediately to repair to the Northern department to relieve Major General Schuyler in his command there**“That brigadier Poor, brigadier Patterson & brigadier Roche De Fur-
noy be directed to repair to Head Quarters.*

“August 3rd

*“Whereas it is represented to Congress that general Washington is of opinion that the immediate recall of all the brigadiers from the Northern department may be productive of inconvenience to the publick service ;**“Resolved**“That the order of Congress of the 1st day of this month respecting the said brigadiers, be suspended, until general Washington shall judge it may be carried into effect with safety**“By order of Congress**“JOHN HANCOCK Presidt”*

“IN CONGRESS, 27 August 1777

*“Congress took into Consideration the report of the Committee on the Mode of conducting the Enquiry into the Causes of the Evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount-Independence ; and into the Conduct of the General-officers in the Northern Department at the time of the Evacuation : Whereupon**“Resolved**“That a Committee of three Members of Congress be appointed and authorized to correspond with Publick Bodies and Private Persons, by Letter or otherwise, in this and the neighbouring States, in order to collect the clearest and fullest Evidence of the State of the Army in the Northern Department, and also of the State of the Troops, military Stores and Provisions, at the said Posts before and at the Time when, the Evacuation was determined upon :**“To examine the Minutes of the Council of War and to inquire what Orders were given from Time to Time, by the Commander in Chief of that Department :**“To inquire particularly if the Barracks and Stores were destroyed, or left standing.**“To inquire of the Quarter-master general and Commissary-general what Quantity of Provision had been laid up at Ticonderoga, or near it, for the use of the Garrison ; and what Measures were taken or taking for throwing further supplies.**“To inform themselves, as fully as possible, of the Number, Appoint-*

ment and Movements of the Enemy, from the Time of their Landing to the Time of evacuating the Fort; and also the Number, Quality and Condition of the Garrison; and if any and what Measures were taken to gain Intelligence of the Strength of the Enemy, by the Commander in Chief or the Commanding-officer at Ticonderoga. 1777

"To inquire of the Clothier General what Clothing from Time to Time had been issued for the Use of the Northern Department, and from other publick officers into the Expenditure of such general stores.

"To inquire into the Number, Equipment and Behaviour of the Militia, and the Term of Service for which they were engaged at and before the Time of the Evacuation; into the Situation and Condition of the Lines at Ticonderoga and the Fortifications upon Mount Independence, what Works had been thrown up by the Enemy, what Posts they had taken, and the Distance of their Works: what Orders had been given by the Commanding Officer for directing and regulating a retreat, and the manner in which the retreat was conducted; what Orders were given relative to the Sick and what Care was taken of them; whether any Continental Troops and what Number were at Albany, or in the Neighbourhood; how long they had been there and why they were not ordered to Ticonderoga.

"To inquire into the Number and Size of Cannon, and whether any were removed before the Evacuation; the Quantity and Species of military Stores, the State of the Arms, both of the Continental Soldiers and Militia; whether the Troops were furnished with Bayonets, and whether there were any and what number of Pikes or Spears, proper for defending Lines.

"That upon such Enquiry and Collection of Facts, a copy of the whole to be transmitted by the said Committee, to General Washington, and that thereupon he appoint a Court-Martial for the trial of the General officers who were in the Northern Department when Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were evacuated, agreeably to the Rules and Regulations of War

"August 28

"Congress proceeded to the Election of the Committee to collect Evidence and Facts relative to the Evacuation of Ticonderoga, &c, and the Ballots being taken

"Mr Laurens Mr Richard H Lee and Mr J Adams were elected

"Copy from the Journals

"WILLIAM CH HOUSTON D Secr'y"

As the opinion of the necessity for the evacuation had been concurred in by all, they all came in for a share of censure before the trial and for a thorough investigation by Congress.

1777 How nobly General Paterson was to redeem his character before Congress and in the public estimation was shown shortly after in the battles which preceded the surrender of Burgoyne. From August 4th to September 25th General Paterson's camp was at Stillwater. He was officer of the day there on August 4th, 8th, and 12th, and on September 14th and 25th. On September 5th he made returns from Van Schaick's Island, nine miles from Albany, of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers under him having been restored to his command.

In order to help St. Leger and prevent the Americans from mustering in force against himself, Burgoyne had planned an attack on Bennington, where he supposed that there was a large depot of American stores. When the news of the intended attack was received, Colonel Stark, who commanded a few hundred militia near that place, prepared to defend it, and sent for reinforcements. The first to arrive was a regiment of Berkshire militia under Parson Allen of Pittsfield. They were subsequently reinforced by Vermont troops. The battle was fought on August 16th. The Americans, under Colonel Stark, were undisciplined but determined militia, very ably commanded. The English troops were composed of some of the most capable officers and best disciplined men of Europe, with some loyalists and Indians. They were sent in two detachments, of seven hundred each, on different days. The commander of the first detachment was killed, the Indians fled, and the rest of the troops surrendered. The next detachment was utterly routed. It was one of the most stubbornly fought battles of the war. It left Burgoyne with both flanks exposed, with his center demoralized by the loss of the Canadians, who fled in terror, and of the Indians, who deserted in great numbers. He had lost some of his best officers, one seventh of his army, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, of which he was greatly in need. He was not only weakened, but he was disheartened. The Americans had now the strategic advantage, and he plainly saw that instead of being certain of victory he was sorely in need of reinforcements. He could not delay his march, so he determined to advance, with the intention

of capturing Albany. He had been a long time preparing 1777 for it, but the delay had given our army the opportunity to occupy and strongly intrench themselves at Stillwater, and unless they were dislodged the plan to capture Albany could not be carried out, and he resolved to do it—as he thought, without serious difficulty. The success of this plan was of vital importance to him; if it succeeded, the situation of the American army would become desperate. To prepare for his march, on August 14th he had built a raft bridge over the Hudson at Saratoga, which was afterward carried away by a rise in the river. His forces, however, were dispirited by their defeats. The ranks of the patriots were swelled by the news of his disaster at Bennington and by the report of the murder of Jane McCrea. It was necessary that he should do something to restore the British prestige, and he hoped that the southern commanders would produce a diversion on the Hudson which would draw away some of the American forces from his front. His advance was, however, slow; his march was impeded in every direction. He could trust neither the Indians nor the Canadians. Ticonderoga, which had been garrisoned by three hundred regulars, had been recaptured with all its arms and stores by the Americans, who had burned the flotilla. A rapid movement of General Lincoln in his rear, and the danger of having his supplies cut off, forced Burgoyne to move forward. He could not retreat. Despondent himself and his forces dispirited, he was forced to move toward the position which had been carefully selected and well chosen by the Americans. He withdrew his forces from the north, abandoned his communications with Canada, built a bridge of boats to replace his rafts which had drifted away, crossed the Hudson on September 14th and strongly fortified himself at Saratoga. The American army, under General Gates, had been organized by Schuyler, and was the most efficient and best disciplined that had been raised. Owing to the generosity of France, who had added largely to the grants of New York, it was well equipped. It was somewhat larger than that of Burgoyne. On the right bank of the Hudson were ten

1777 thousand men, including the militia, some of whom were veterans. The right wing, on the opposite side, commanded by General Lincoln, who was very popular, was made up of New England militia fresh from Bennington. It was composed chiefly of Paterson's, Nixon's, and Glover's brigades. They began the advance on the 8th of September; on the 12th they occupied an elevated position called, after the name of a man who kept a tavern there, "Bemis' Heights." It is a series of low hills at right angles to the Hudson, and almost reaching its western bank. The line reached across the low ground to the river. They were stationed there to defend the river and its approaches. Bemis' Heights is nine miles east of Saratoga, and is about half-way between the villages of Schuylerville and Stillwater. It had been fortified by Kosciuszko, and by September 15th the works were nearly completed. General Gates had connected the camp with the east side of the Hudson by a floating bridge, to facilitate the crossing of reinforcements if they should be found to be necessary. This bridge was defended by a water battery, which also commanded the east shore of the river.

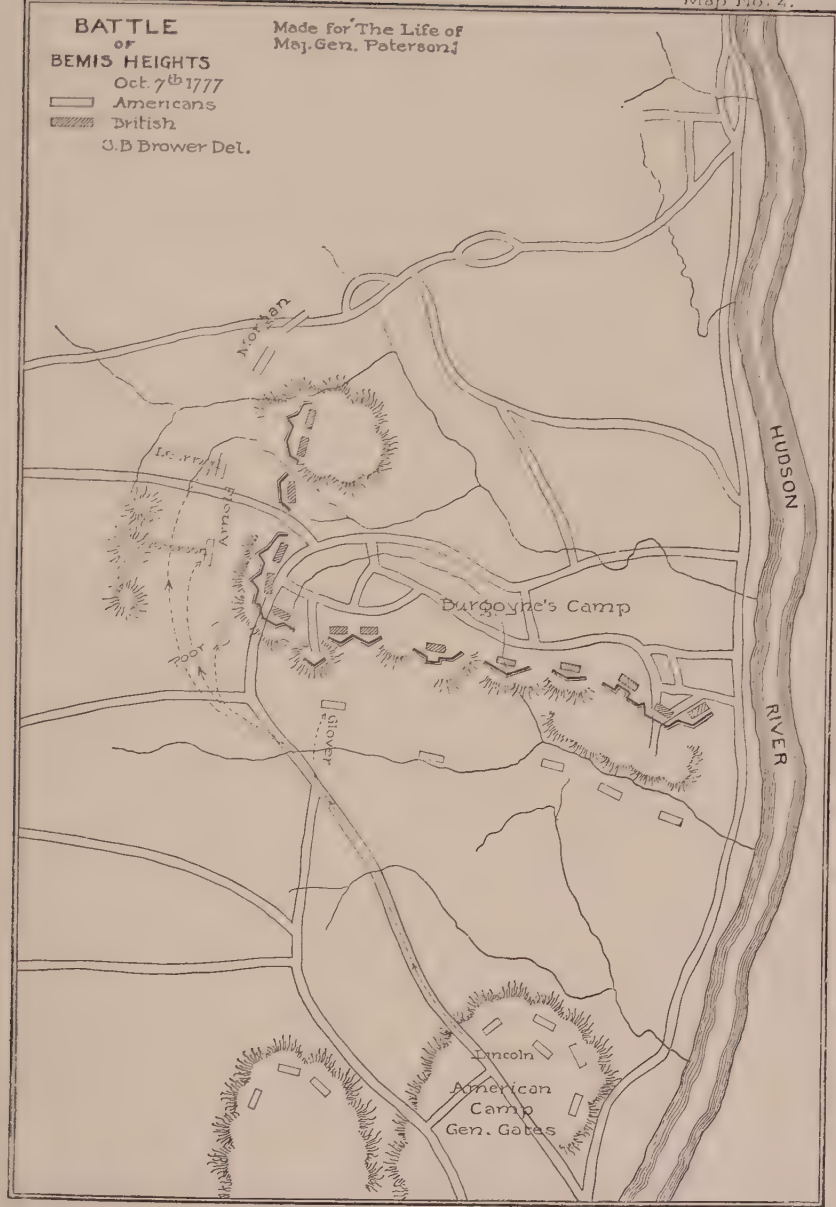
On the 14th and 15th General Paterson was brigadier of the day at Stillwater. On the 19th of September Burgoyne made the attack which resulted in the battle of Freeman's Farm. General Paterson, with his brigade of four Massachusetts regiments, with Glover's and Nixon's, which were in the right wing, was held in reserve. During the action one of his regiments was detached to the left wing, and did efficient service. Ten of his men were killed and one of his officers, Major Lithgow, was wounded. The left wing, with this regiment, which was nearly one third of General Gates' forces, which did the main fighting, checked with 1550 men the advance of the enemy, who many times outnumbered them, and frustrated their plan of attack. On the 21st a message from Sir H. Clinton in New York reached Burgoyne's camp telling him of the plans of attack on the lower Hudson, and asking him how long he could hold out. He replied, until October 12th. But although the English in New York opened the Hudson, it was of no use to Burgoyne. During the weeks that followed, the Massachusetts regiments

**BATTLE
of
BEMIS HEIGHTS**
Oct. 7th 1777

Made for The Life of
Maj. Gen. Paterson;

- Americans
- British

J.B. Brower Del.



were constantly engaged, and won for themselves, as did also 1777 their commander, just praise. The series of engagements which took place have been given various names by different writers. By those engaged in them they are called, in their correspondence, the battles of Bemis' Heights, because they were fought on those hills. They are in the town of Stillwater, so the engagements were called after the town; but Burgoyne was at Saratoga, and the surrender was made there. The town is also in the county of Saratoga. Hence these series of engagements are known under the four different names of Bemis' Heights, on which there were two sharp engagements, Stillwater, Saratoga, and Freeman's Farm, on which the first of the three engagements was fought. On the 22d of September General Lincoln took command of the right wing, replacing Arnold, who, in a moment of anger, asked leave to go to headquarters and join Washington, which was granted. He, however, did not go, but remained in camp a disturbing element, to perform acts of great bravery in the battle of Bemis' Heights. The second battle of Bemis' Heights occurred on October 7th. Its object was to secure a retreat for Burgoyne, either by forcing a way through the American lines or so to cripple that army that a retreat for the British would be practicable. The defense of the riverside was officially assigned to the right wing. The first fire of the British was too high, and did little or no damage. The Americans rushed on the enemy's batteries with great spirit. They were taken and retaken, until at last the British were forced to abandon them, and a retreat was ordered. Arnold could restrain himself no longer. Without any authority he assumed command. The soldiers recognized him, cheered him as he passed, and followed him wherever he led. He was very popular with them, and as he had only a few days before commanded them, they never questioned his authority. Paterson's and Glover's brigades were leading the troops; he took command of them and assaulted the intrenchments of Earl Balcarras, but as he encountered a strong abattis he was driven back under a heavy fire of grape and

1777 musket-ball. Meeting Larned's brigade, he took command of it also, and thus with these portions of Paterson's, Glover's, and Larned's brigades he threw himself at the head of the regiment in front, and so inspired the troops by his personal bravery that they rallied and attacked the great redoubt with such determination that in a single charge he drove the light infantry of Balcarras at the point of the bayonet from the abattis into the redoubt itself, where, exposed to the cross-fires of the two armies, he carried the works. Then meeting with other troops, he took command of them also, and captured the other intrenchments of the British, and was wounded just as he had secured the victory. Thus an officer who had no command won "one of the most spirited and important battles of the Revolution." At night General Lincoln's command, in which General Paterson was, relieved the troops who had done most of the fighting, and marched to the upper fork of the North Ravine (shown on map No. 7). On the 8th General Paterson went to relieve General Morgan, who was cutting off all Burgoyne's foraging parties. That night Burgoyne abandoned his hospital and unnecessary baggage and retreated, in a heavy rain, across the Fishkill River. The bateaux containing his supplies were under constant fire. The point where he had first crossed the river was well guarded by the American forces. On the 10th, in a heavy rain, General Paterson frustrated the plans of the British, which, if they had been successful, would have opened a way for Burgoyne to Albany, so that he would have probably escaped, a misfortune which would have completely demoralized our army.

On the morning of the 11th General Gates was informed that Burgoyne had already started in the hope of being able to reach Fort Edward, leaving only a rear-guard in camp. A portion of the army came near being captured, but was saved, not without some loss, to accomplish the maneuvers which forced Burgoyne to surrender, by news brought by a British deserter, who informed them that Burgoyne's entire army was in battle array on the hill. The Americans finally occupied the heights in three quarters of a circle around Burgoyne.

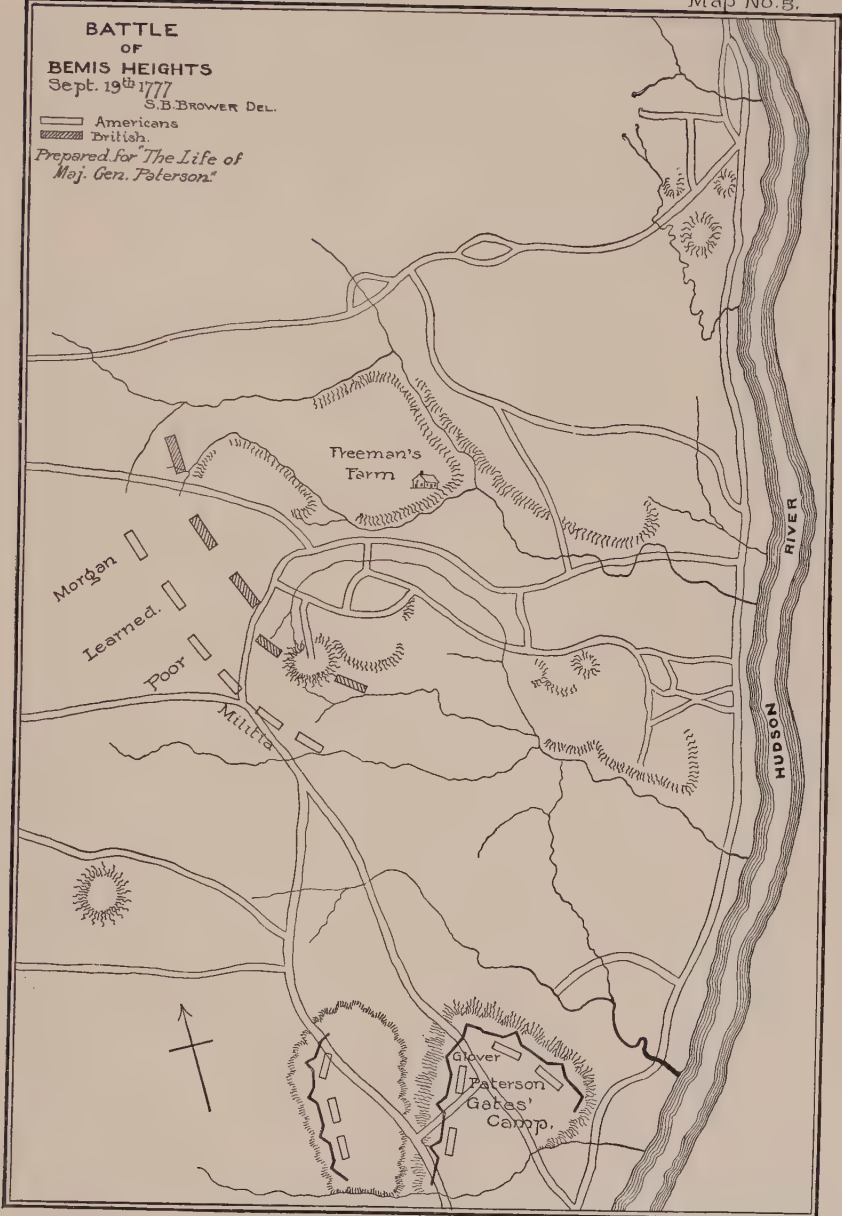
**BATTLE
OF
BEMIS HEIGHTS**

Sept. 19th 1777

S. B. BROWER DEL.

— Americans
- - - British.

*Prepared for The Life of
Maj. Gen. Paterson.*

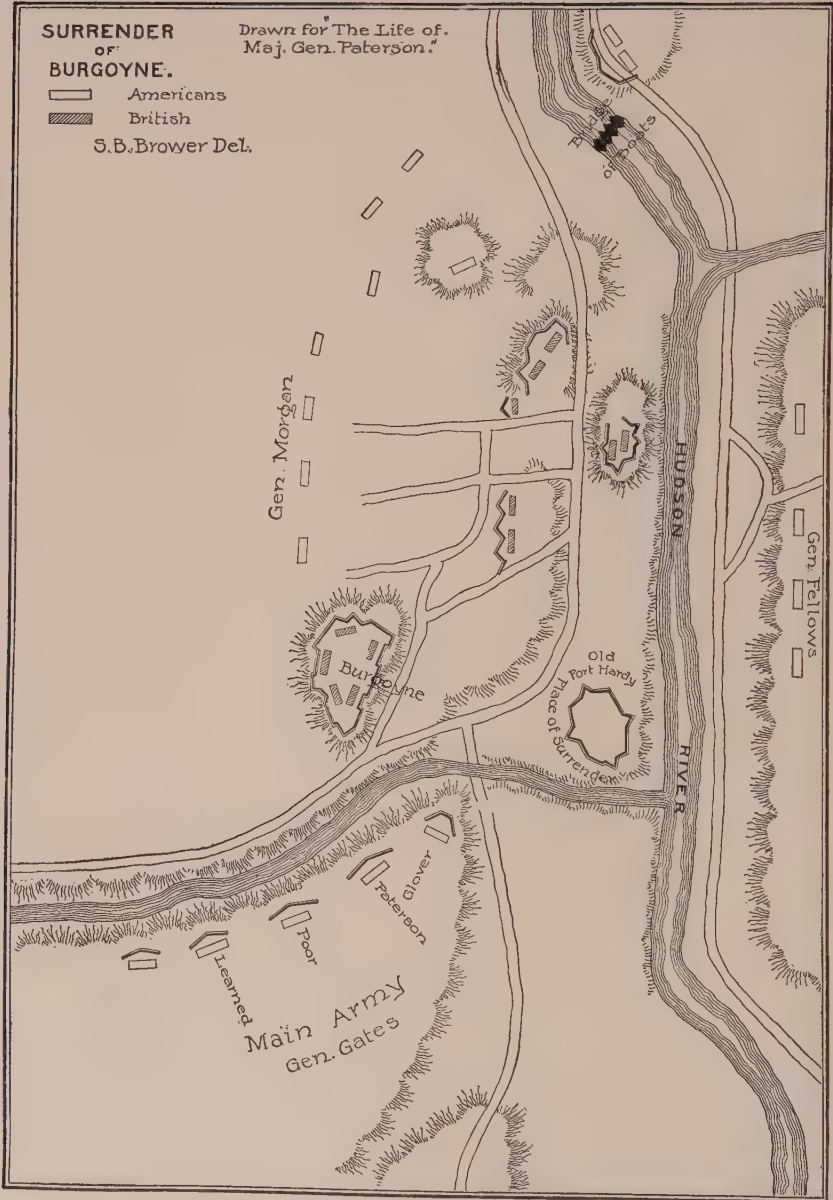


**SURRENDER
OF
BURGOYNE.**

Drawn for The Life of.
Maj. Gen. Paterson.

□ Americans
▨ British

S.B. Brower Del.



Burgoyne was harassed in every direction, and his army had no rest. On the 12th he ascertained that his retreat to the north had been cut off. His bridge of boats was commanded by the American guns; his supplies were exhausted; some of his best officers had been killed and others taken prisoners; his troops were worn out, for they had had no rest for more than a week; they were under short rations, and were, moreover, dispirited. He now abandoned all hope of receiving the reinforcements which he had been anxiously waiting for. On the 13th he sent a flag of truce to General Gates, asking for terms of capitulation. That night dispatches were received by Burgoyne, giving information of the capitulation of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, and that reinforcements had been sent to him, but it was too late. On the 16th General Gates reported 13,216 men fit for duty under Paterson, Glover, Nixon, Poor, Larned, and others. Outgeneraled and completely defeated, Burgoyne surrendered 5763 men on October 17, 1777. During all this time General Paterson and his whole command acted with the most distinguished bravery. His soldiers were full of courage and in the highest spirits. His officers were determined and well supported and did terrible execution against the enemy, and his brigade helped to turn what might have been a disastrous defeat into a glorious victory. He narrowly escaped death, his horse having been shot under him by a cannon-ball. After the battle, his brigade consisted of only 600 rank and file fit for duty, with a militia regiment of 200, whose time was so nearly up that when they arrived at the encampments south their time would be out.

As the result of this victory the British Government, in the hope of regaining the colonies, abandoned every measure for which they had commenced the war. On February 17, 1778, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, the act taxing tea, the repeal of the charter of Massachusetts, and renounced forever the right to raise a revenue in America. They gave power to commissioners to suspend any act of Parliament passed since 1763, and gave unconditional amnesty to all political offenders. The bill received the king's signature

1778 on March 11th. Commissioners were at once sent out to make arrangements for a treaty of peace. But it was too late. The Americans were now determined to be independent of Great Britain. The war that had been previously waged to gain redress for wrongs now became distinctly a war for independence.

On October 28, 1777, General Paterson presided over a court-martial at Stillwater. He then started with his brigade for the lower Hudson. It was with the greatest difficulty that transportation could be found for them, and then only enough to carry them to New Windsor, Orange County, above West Point, where they arrived on November 7th. His brigade was so far reduced in numbers at that time that it contained only 600 men fit for duty and about 200 militia whose term of service had nearly expired. On the 18th he wrote to General Washington as follows:

"To His Excellency Genl Washington"

"SIR

"Colo. Hamilton directed me when I arrived nigh the River to send an Express to Head Quarters for your Orders, and wait at the Ferry until he returned. I am now at Lambertson and expect to be at the Ferry on thursday Morning without fail. Mr. Haskill an Adjutant of my Brigade I send to you for Directions and Shall wait at the Ferry until his Return. Generals Poor & Glovers Brigade are just in my Rear Genl. Larned took the road thro' Sussex Expect he will be at the Ferry as soon as myself. Capt Gibbs desired me to inform your Excellency that he was waiting at Morris Town until the whole had passed to hurry them on as fast as possible

"I am Sir with respect your Excellency

"Most obedient humble Servt

"JNO PATERSON.

"Tuesday three Clock 18th Nov. 1777 "

On November 22, 1777, he went into camp at Whitemarsh, New York. On the 23d Washington reported to Congress that his regiment was sadly in want of shoes, stockings, breeches, and blankets, and that the brigades of both Pater-

* From the Collection of E. G. Dreer, Esq., of Philadelphia.

son and Poor together did not amount to more than 2300 or 1777 2400 men.

One of the painful cases of discharge is shown by the order* given below and its endorsement:

"Joseph Morse a Soldier in Colo Marshalls Regiment being under peculiar Circumstances is by leave of his Excellency Genl Washington discharged the Service of the United States and from doing any Duty in said Regiment has leave to pass from Camp to Boston

"Given under my hand in Camp this 7th Day of March 1778

"JNO PATERSON B Genl"

(On the reverse.)

"DEAR SIR

"The Case of Mr Morse is very particuar and His Excellency therefore desires that you may do what you think proper in this If he leaves the Service as a private Soldier, which is a station below his merit, he will come in, in some other way

"I am Dear Sir

"Your obedt Servt

"TENCH TILGHMAN.

"HEAD QUARTERS

"7th March 1778"

The British campaign for the possession of the Hudson River ended with the surrender of Burgoyne. It had lasted from May to October. During that time the British had lost some of their ablest officers and ten thousand men, killed or prisoners. The river, except at its mouth, was still in the possession of the Americans. The army which had won the victory, as it was composed largely of militia, disbanded almost as quickly as it had been organized. All that remained of it was a handful of enlisted Continental Regulars. The work of organizing a new army had to be commenced over again at once for the next campaign, although the close of the year 1777 found the entire country, except Long Island, Staten Island, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, in the possession of the patriots.

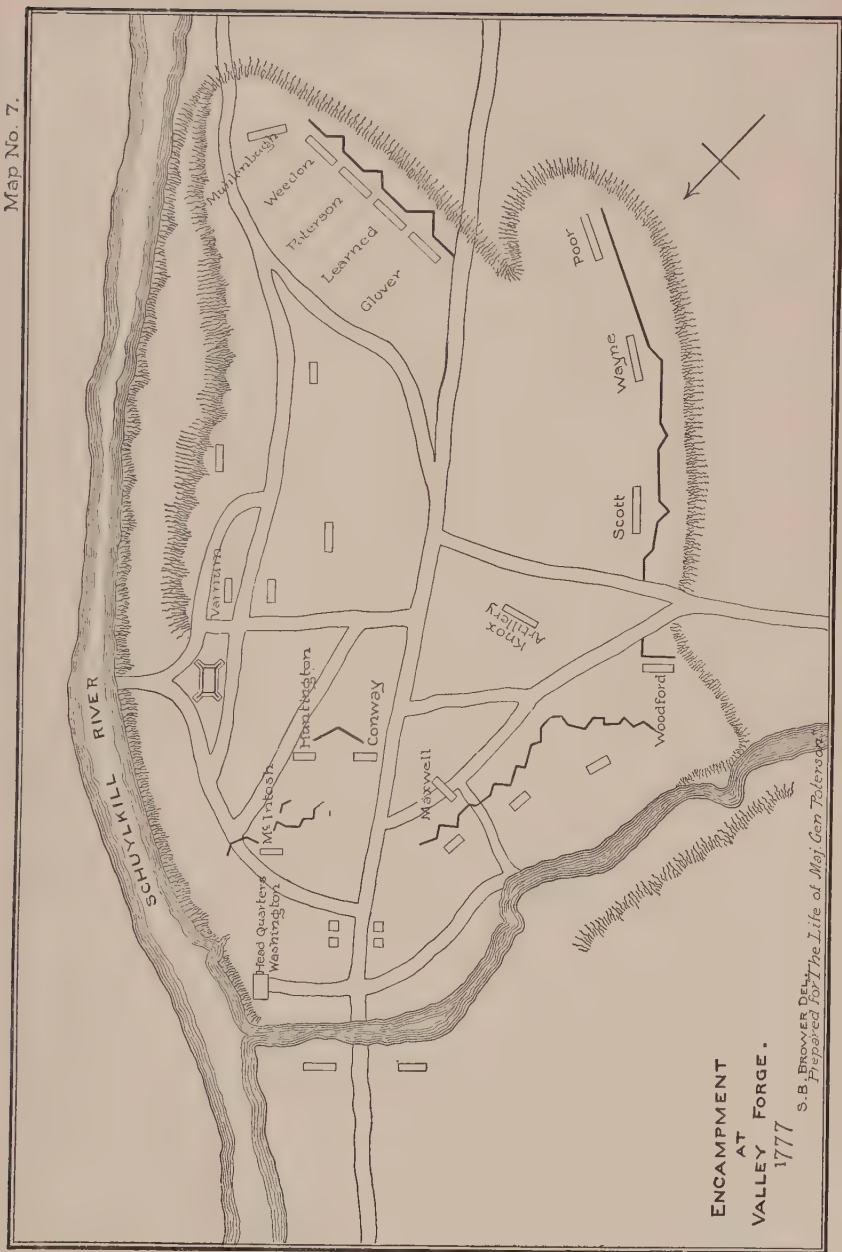
* Revolutionary Rolls, vol. xlv., p. 378.

CHAPTER V.

VALLEY FORGE AND MONMOUTH.

1778 DURING the winter of 1777-8 General Paterson was at Valley Forge, and was one of the wisest advisers of General Washington. He was with Grover and Larned in General Lincoln's command, which numbered 1326 men and officers. It was a winter of great suffering, but was borne bravely. The army had neither sufficient clothing to protect them from the bitter cold nor sufficient to eat. The camp was turned into a military school for officers and men by Baron Steuben. Besides tactics, the men learned faith, both in the cause and their commander, who shared every privation with them, and this faith, with the military discipline, led to the subsequent victory of that winter. General Paterson, who had come from Saratoga, was everywhere when there was any duty to be done and always efficient. At the express wish of Washington and under the orders of General Green, on January 20, 1778, he undertook the superintendence of the fortifications of the left wing, which he did very efficiently.

In the meantime France, who had all along been friendly to the colonies and hostile to Great Britain, saw her opportunity. If the conciliatory measures which had been proposed were successful, this would be lost, and on the 6th of February, 1778, France signed a treaty with the United States. The situation in England was desperate. She was piling up a debt at the rate of nearly one million pounds sterling a week. By the treaty she had recently made she could hire no more troops in Europe. Some of the Puritans were disgusted with an alliance with a Roman Catholic power, which had let loose the Indians on their frontier, and from this dissatisfaction Parlia-



ment hoped to gain something; so on April 7th the Duke of Richmond gave notice that he should introduce a bill for the immediate withdrawal of all the forces in the colonies, and to make peace on any terms that Congress would dictate. In contending against this measure, Lord Chatham was struck with his death in the House of Lords. The bill was not passed. The king was enraged at the defeat of Burgoyne, and he called on all loyal Englishmen to help him wipe out the national disgrace. The army expected reinforcements. General Amherst, the king's military adviser, had recommended that forty thousand men be sent to America at once. The suggestion had been disapproved, but for a time enlistments were easily made. The Americans, however, had earnest friends in England, and among them were Fox, Burke, Richmond, and Chatham. Chatham's famous speech, "If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms—never, never, never," created great sympathy for the Americans held as prisoners of war, and subscriptions for their benefit were numerous and liberal. This sympathy and the French alliance caused Parliament to pass the conciliatory bills. While Parliament was talking softly the king and his ministers used no kindly phrases. They delayed the execution of the bills as far as they could. At length, when delay was no longer possible, they sent out commissions whose members were of the same mind as the king and his ministers. The bills were sent first in the expectation that they would pave the way for an amicable settlement favorable to England. They arrived in New York on the 14th of April, and were at once published by Governor Tryon. The effect which they produced was entirely unexpected. The British troops were so enraged at the giving up of all that they had unsuccessfully fought for, that they threatened to mutiny if the provisions of the bills were carried out. When they were published outside of the British lines it was found that no one was conciliated. The provisions of the bills were not even looked upon as serious. The commission did not arrive until June. They had almost unlimited power to arrange terms of

1778

1778 settlement. On the 6th of June Sir H. Clinton officially communicated the bills to Congress. On the 17th of June by a formal vote Congress refused to entertain any offers of conciliation from the royal commissioners, unless accompanied by an acknowledgment of independence and an immediate cessation of the war. It published the bills of Parliament, which were everywhere received with contempt, and in many towns were burned under the gallows. On July 2d, and again on July 18th, they offered Congress complete independence in everything but foreign affairs. These letters were not answered, and every attempt on the part of the commission to open negotiations was turned into ridicule. Enraged at their failure, they issued a proclamation asserting that an alliance between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic country was monstrous. They declared that if the colonies did not submit within forty days, the whole object of the war should be to devastate the country. This proclamation was at once published by Congress, and was received everywhere with the scorn and derision it deserved. In many towns it was publicly burned by the hangman. In October the commissioners returned to England, having lost any influence they might have had, had they acted with less temper.

Valley Forge is memorable, not only on account of the suffering endured there, but also for the cabals against Washington, and more than anything else, the inefficiency and mismanagement of Congress. Congress was in reality a body without power. It could advise the States, but it could not enforce taxation. It could not support the army. None of the States had raised their full quota, and there was nothing left for it but to raise money on promises to pay. It had already printed more than \$40,000,000 worth of such promises, and during the first half of 1778 it issued \$23,000,000 more. This paper was based on nothing, and consequently was worth little, and no law could give this *fiat* money intrinsic value which it never had. The country had lost faith in Congress, but they had gained faith in Washington. The enthusiasm in the army for the man who had shared all their sufferings and privations, who from his simple uprightness of character had

come out triumphant in spite of the cabals against him, 1778 amounted to devotion. It had been a long, dreary winter, full of trials and unnecessary suffering, but when spring came the army had forgotten their privations, while they remembered with pride the victories of the previous year. Baron Steuben communicated to the army not only his enthusiasm, but imbued them with his principles. They became so well drilled that officers and men were confident of success. While drilling the army Baron Steuben prepared a book on tactics, which continued in use long after his death, as it was so well adapted to our needs. He had the ability not only to teach others, but also to learn how to adapt the military principles of Europe to the condition of these soldiers. Notwithstanding the evils which resulted from the mismanagement of Congress, the army marched from its camp in the spring better and stronger than it had ever been before.

During the campaigns of 1777, 11,000 of the 20,000 who were present at the surrender of Burgoyne, half were militia called out to meet emergencies that were local, and they went back to their homes when these were over. There was no standing army of any size possible, in the face of the fact that the people feared that it might become not only a burden but a danger to their liberties, and they fully supported Congress in the way the army was managed, which prevented the forming of experienced officers and men. The misery of Valley Forge had resulted from gross mismanagement. On December 23d Washington had 2898 men "unfit for duty because they were barefoot and otherwise naked"; for want of blankets they were obliged "to sit up all night by fires, instead of taking comfortable rest, in a natural and common way."

General Howe, the British commander, who had practically placed himself in the position of one defeated by his taking of Philadelphia, for "the rebel capital" was of no use as a base for military operations and only weakened the military force, as it had to be defended, was disgusted and convinced that the war was useless, and wanted to resign; but our army was all ready for action. In April, 1778, at a council of war held to deter-

1778 mine what was to be done, there was a great variety of opinion as to the details, but a singular unanimity as to the fact that a vigorous campaign should be made. Some wanted to attack Philadelphia, which was evacuated without a blow as an untenable position on June 18, 1778; others wanted to attack New York, and others both places at once; others had doubts of the advisability of any attack until the army should be strengthened or the British army indicate its plans; but all agreed that vigorous measures must be taken and that the army, both officers and men, had never been in a better condition. The officers were ordered in the early spring to prepare in the best way for an immediate and sudden movement. The evacuation of Philadelphia was equivalent to a victory and was regarded as such, and it was very desirable that the moral effect of it should be at once followed up. On April 7th General Paterson was one of a general court-martial of which General Poor was president. On April 15, 1778, General Gates was ordered to repair immediately to Fishkill, and to take command of all the troops on the North River and the whole Northern Department.

The news of the arrival of the French reinforcements, which had landed at Portland, Me., reached Valley Forge on the 7th of May, 1778. The same day the news of the destruction of the public stores at Bordentown reached them, but the one more than counterbalanced the other. At nine o'clock on that morning the army was called to parade, and every demonstration of joy, such as the beating of drums and the firing of cannon, was the order of the day. The parade was not one to attract a brilliant assemblage, but it aroused hope in the minds of the men and in the defenders of their liberties in a way that few things had done up to this time. The spirit of the army was and had been distinctly a religious one. It was a day of thanksgiving, and as it had been usual for the ministers in their various towns to announce to the people the things for which they were on special occasions to be thankful, the chaplains explained the occasion of their review to the soldiers. The treaty of alliance was read, and at its conclu-

sion huzzas were given for the King of France, for Washington, and for the Republic of the United States. Military salutes were fired by the soldiers, and after these exhibitions of joy the review was terminated by the singing of "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow."

There is an heroic side to this scene which we to-day find it difficult to appreciate. We are apt to think of the country united then as it is now, but the Continental Congress did not at that time represent the country as our government is now supposed to do. Its powers were not defined; it was not at unity with itself; it was full of cabals. It had not supported the army as it should have done. Its support had come from requisitions on the States, which had honored them as they could. In fact, the army was almost the only real representation of unity that there was, but it was constantly being disbanded and re-formed. The army had suffered great losses, and these were not so much those from death or wounds on the field of battle, as from sickness, produced by the negligence or incapacity of Congress. The mortality was owing to exposure from want of proper equipage and clothing, of privation and even starvation from an inefficient commissary department. It was now likely to fall between the illusory hopes of Congress of an immediate termination of the war owing to foreign intervention, and the recognition of the independence of the States by European powers, and the fact that some of the States replied slowly to the requisitions made on them for men and supplies, as they recognized that the struggle was not to terminate at once. Such a scene could only be possible when the men who made up the army were satisfied of the justice of their cause, and determined with God's help to fight for it. Notwithstanding the cabals of individuals and the incapacity of their rulers, Congress itself had been moved by the sympathy shown to them by France and Spain, to declare, as they did on April 22d, that they would not treat with the English commissioners "unless they shall either withdraw their fleets and armies or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the States."

1778 We are very apt to think of the soldiers of the Revolution arrayed in the costumes which have been assigned to them in the various historical paintings, and as being uniformed at all times in their continental costumes; but ordinarily, and especially on this occasion, there was very little of the pomp and circumstance usual in ordinary army reviews. There was no public to admire the scene, and the scene itself was not a brilliant one, but to them it was in the highest degree inspiring. There were few uniforms, many of the men had no shoes, and a great many had no coats, or their coats were made of what remained of their winter blankets. The men had been drilled all through the winter by Baron Steuben, and were soldierly in their bearing, but there was nothing of the pageantry and show which were displayed two weeks later by the British army just before the evacuation of Philadelphia. There was thanksgiving in every heart and determination in every face, and their fixed resolution to obtain their freedom was shown in the fact of their muster, and their way of expressing it was in the hymn which closed the parade and which came with wonderful earnestness and was at the same time the expression of their thanksgiving for the assistance which they had already received and their determination to obtain their freedom by God's help.

The English had spent the winter in gayety at Philadelphia. The possession of the rebel capital had not only been of no advantage to them, it was an embarrassment, and morally it was a defeat. The Americans had spent the winter at Valley Forge in hard work to bring up their discipline, suffering at the same time the greatest privations. When spring came the Americans were ready for hard fighting and more determined than ever; but the English were feeling the effects of a wasted winter.

Many of the officers who had come out with d'Estaing had asked for service in a time of enthusiasm and excitement, and with extravagant ideas both of promotion and emolument, and, finding that their expectations were not realized, had returned to France at the expense of Congress. Not more than

ten remained, among whom were Lafayette, Pulaski, and Kosciusko. Lafayette was given a command, Pulaski was put into the cavalry, and Kosciusko into the corps of engineers. 1778

During the winter of 1777-8 the Highlands of the Hudson had been carefully reconnoitered. General Gates was put in command of West Point on December 2, 1777. It had previously been under the command of General Parsons. All the forts and other works in that vicinity had been destroyed by the British, and it was under discussion what points on the Hudson should be fortified. As there was considerable difference of opinion as to what point should be selected, the Council and Assembly of New York State was asked to consider it, and they, on January 13, 1778, fixed on West Point as the key to the situation. General Putnam was chosen to command, but as he was obliged to be absent, as he was on the court of inquiry in relation to the loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, General McDougal was put in command and ordered to press the work of fortification as much as possible. Kosciusko was selected as the engineer, and for the time this became the matter of absorbing interest in the Highlands.

With the opening of spring the officers of the American Army began to make plans for a summer campaign. The discipline which had been introduced into the army at Valley Forge by Baron Steuben made them feel greater confidence in themselves than they had heretofore done. In the previous fall, on November 24, 1777, at a council of war called to consider the desirability of an attack on Philadelphia, only four generals had voted for it. Eleven, including General Paterson, voted against it. Now, however, three generals, and among them General Paterson, voted for it. Four wanted to attack New York. One wanted to attack both cities at once. Three others advised to do nothing until the British should in some way show what their plans were. This was also General Washington's opinion.

On May 7th General Paterson received the following orders: "The Honorable Congress of February 3d requires all officers

1778 holding commissions to take the oath of allegiance to the free United States, Brigadier-General Paterson to grant certificates and administer the oath to his own brigade." One of these Valley Forge certificates is in the author's possession. During the month of May every general except Poor, Varnum, and Paterson asked for and received a furlough. They remained on duty.

Howe had found it much more difficult to provision Philadelphia than New York, and as soon as the season permitted had dispatched foraging parties to secure food and other supplies. Against these, detachments had been sent out, which often prevented them from obtaining any supplies. As the Americans did not present a very soldierly appearance, and were without uniforms, the British ceased to fear them. They had already forgotten Saratoga. Lafayette, who was a major-general, was put in command of 2100 picked men and five pieces of artillery, to prevent these incursions, and to watch for signs of the evacuation of the city. General Clinton had replaced General Howe, and realized fully his dangerous position. To clear his way for the evacuation, and capture Lafayette, on May 19th he sent 5000 men against him at Barren Hill; but Lafayette foiled them and joined the American Army in safety.

On May 18th, 23d, 30th, and June 6th General Paterson was officer of the day. Toward the middle of May it became apparent that the British could not hold out much longer in Philadelphia. They feared that they would be blockaded in that city by the French fleet, which might easily have been done. On the 18th Washington in general orders ordered all the forces to be prepared for any sudden movement. On May 23d he ordered them to be ready to march at a moment's warning. It had been a long, dreary winter, and the troops were ready for any advance. The order for the disposition of the army on the march to the Hudson River was given in May by Washington. Paterson, Glover, and Larned were in the 4th Division under Baron de Kalb. On June 6th they were still at Valley Forge. On the 17th Washington asked counsel of

THE COUNCIL AT HOPEWELL, N. J., PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH
FROM THE MONUMENT AT FREEHOLD



GEN. DU PORTALE	GEN. LAFAYETTE	GEN. WASHINGTON	GEN. WAYNE	GEN. WOODFORD
BARON STÜBEN		GEN. SCOTT	GEN. GREENE	GEN. LEE
LORD STIRLING	COL. SCAMMELL	GEN. PATERSON		
GEN. HENRY KNOX				

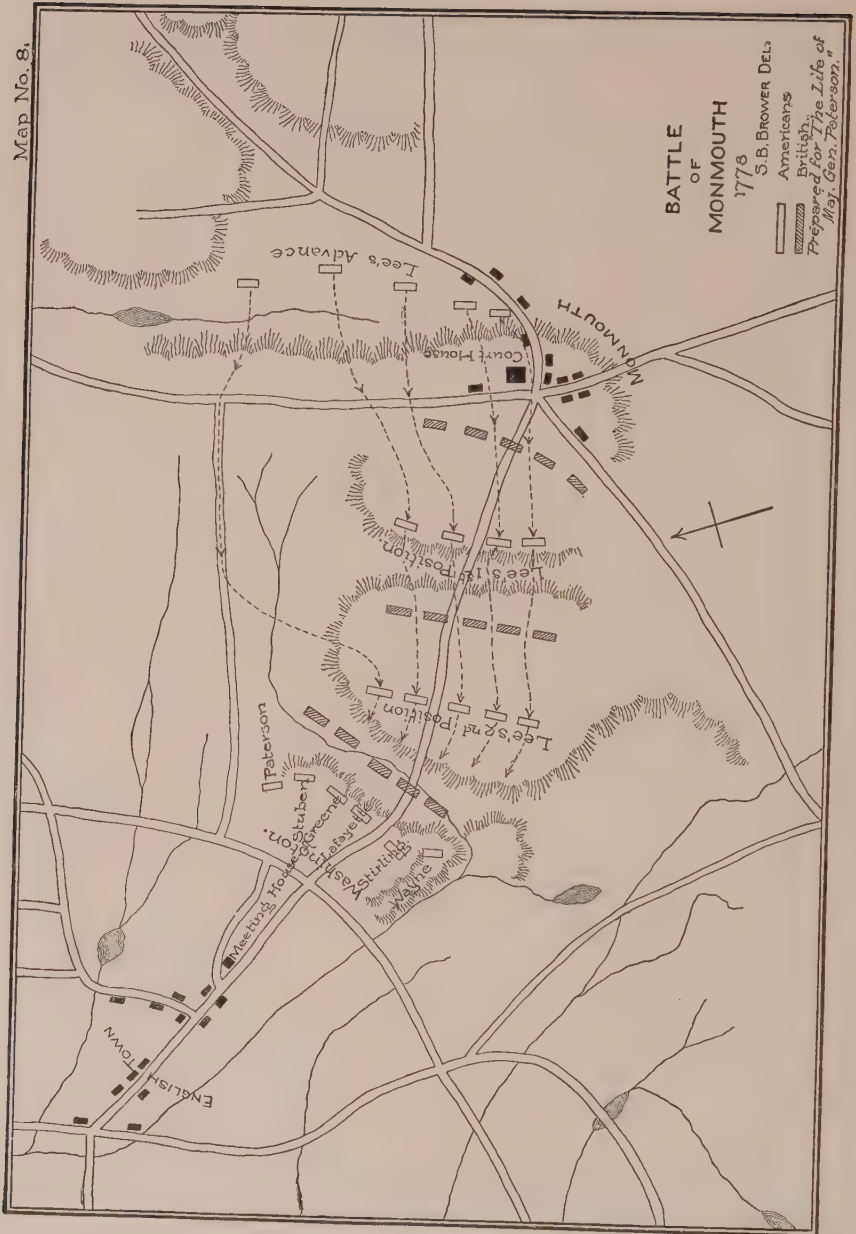
his generals, who advised him to disencumber his army of all baggage, and be ready to give chase to the British as soon as the city was evacuated. On the morning of the 18th of June Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia. Before sunset of that day the Americans marched in and occupied it, and Arnold was sent to take possession and command. The evacuation of the city commenced at three o'clock in the morning, and by ten o'clock the whole British army of occupation was in New Jersey. They were encumbered with a heavy baggage train, said to have been twelve miles long, and took the road toward Sandy Hook. Their army numbered about 12,000 men, thoroughly equipped and organized. The American Army was somewhat larger, but was not well equipped. Washington left Valley Forge at once to pursue Clinton through New Jersey, but he did not reach him until June 28th.

Washington wished to engage the retreating enemy. He reached Hopewell, which is about five miles from Princeton, on the 24th of June. He at once called a council of war, to determine whether it would be advisable to hazard a general engagement. Six generals, under the leadership of Lee, advised against it. Six others, among whom were Paterson and Lafayette, voted for it. Paterson wished to have 2500 to 3000 men sent forward at once. Washington himself believed that this was a most favorable time to force a general engagement, and that the danger from the effect on the public mind, of allowing an army with twelve miles of baggage train, to cross New Jersey unmolested, was far greater than any defeat which was feared owing to the superior equipment of the enemy. Notwithstanding the great heat and the fatigue of the army, who had been almost starved on their march, he determined to force an engagement. He ordered a detachment under Lafayette and another under Lee to worry the rear-guard of the enemy and to reinforce that part of the main army which was nearest to the British, and sent Steuben to reconnoiter. Washington was moving faster than Clinton, and on a line nearly parallel to him, and was getting ahead

1778 of the British on the line of their retreat. Clinton had nothing to gain by fighting, and hoped to avoid it. He only wished to get safely to New York, with as little delay as possible. He was moving east toward Monmouth, and hoped to reach Sandy Hook safely, as from there he could embark his troops, under the cover of the British fleet, to New York. His right wing took the advance and convoyed his baggage train. His left wing, composed of about 8000 men, followed in the rear, and was exposed to attack.

On the 25th Steuben reported the British as marching toward Monmouth Court-House, which, however, they did not reach until the 27th. On the 28th, finding that the British were moving away from their position, Washington ordered Lee, who commanded the advance, which was composed of 6000 men, to attack the enemy. Lee at first declined. If he had persisted, the command would have devolved on Lafayette, when the result would probably have been the capture of the whole of Clinton's army; but Lee reconsidered, and asked to be put in command and to be allowed to lead the attack. The orders to Lee were positive and explicit. He was to attack at once, and the main army was ordered to move forward to Freehold to support him. Lee went off to the right, to draw, as he said, the enemy into the ravines there, so that he could destroy them. He marched and countermarched the troops, to no purpose. He was not present when the attack was made, which was, by his orders, carried out so slowly as to be entirely useless. Clinton, finding himself in danger, moved first, and attacked Lee's troops and drove them back in disorder. Lafayette, who began to suspect that all was not right, sent for Washington, who, when he arrived on the ground, found Lee's troops in full retreat. There was no necessity for the retreat. Lee's force was ample, and it was, as the events proved, well disciplined. The advantage was on Lee's side, and there was every reason to hope that he would capture some of the best troops in the British Army at the very commencement of the fight. When the attack began Lee ordered first Wayne and then Lafayette

Map No. 8.



to make only feints, to draw away the attention of the enemy; 1778 and they, supposing that the orders had been changed by Washington, did so. The reason that Lee gave for these orders was that he did not believe that his troops could stand up against the British soldiers. Lee then ordered the regiments on the left to fall back, and the others, seeing the movement, which they thought was a retreat, became panic-stricken. Lee gave orders that the retreat should be continued. Neither officers nor men knew what they were retreating for, and the fear of an unknown danger became greater than it could have been in the face of one that was known. Lee, as he had determined to do, either because he was piqued or because he wished the British to capture both Washington and his army, had thrown his entire command into complete disorder and confusion. Washington, coming up at this moment and finding the rout complete, ordered Steuben to reform the troops on the left, and Wayne those on the right. Steuben collected the left behind the creek at Englishtown. General Paterson coming up, after they were formed, with three brigades of the second line, was ordered to place his troops a little more to the rear, on the high ground. While Steuben was re-forming the troops he met Lee, who had been ordered to the rear, and he tried to dissuade him from carrying out his orders, on the ground that he must have misunderstood them; but without avail. So accustomed had the men at Valley Forge become to follow the lead of Steuben and so convinced were they that his methods of discipline had made the army more efficient than it had ever been before, though closely pursued and in complete rout, they wheeled into line and re-formed under fire at his command with almost the same precision that they had done on the parade ground or at the famous Thanksgiving review at Valley Forge. From being mad with a nameless fear they became cool and acted with the bravery of veterans. This unexpected stand completely checked the British advance. Foiled in this direction, Clinton attacked Wayne. This was led by the grenadier guards, commanded by Colonel Moncton. They had been

1778 drilled in bayonet practice, and were very skillful in it. The colonel made a speech to them in which he urged them to charge like men and to keep up the reputation of their corps. The two forces were so near that every word was heard by the Americans, and probably influenced them quite as much as it did the British soldiers. The grenadiers made a charge at quickstep, expecting to drive everything before them. The Americans waited quietly until they were quite close, and then met them with such a destructive fire that the grenadiers were not only driven back in confusion, but, though they fought like heroes for the body of their colonel, who fell at the first fire, they were obliged to retreat, leaving it in the possession of the Americans. This repulse of the élite of the British Army by men who had just been rallied from an ignominious retreat is one of the most striking pictures of the Revolution.

Clinton now attacked the left, but was also driven back. General Paterson and his troops fought with great bravery in repelling this attack. The fighting continued until five in the afternoon. When it ceased, the British were retreating. Steuben was then ordered to the front to pursue the retreating enemy, and started at once with General Paterson and his troops. Night came on before he reached them, and he and the rest of the American Army camped on the battle-field, intending to renew the fight the next morning; but when the sun rose Clinton was gone, and was so far on the way to Sandy Hook that it was useless to pursue him.

It was a hotly contested fight. Both parties claimed the victory, but the Americans held the field of battle. The battle was full of incidents. Painters have not tired representing Molly Pitcher taking her husband's position at the cannon and fighting in his place with all the vigor and bravery of a veteran soldier. Writers have described Washington's righteous wrath when he met Lee. Historians have praised Wayne for his magnificent fight under disadvantageous circumstances. Army men are never tired of extolling Steuben's drilling of the men and forming them when in full retreat into an orderly

line of battle so that they more than saved the name they had lost. Steuben's drilling at Valley Forge and his command of the men and Washington's generalship saved Monmouth, and taught the world again that in the defense of their rights determined men are a match for disciplined soldiery. 1778

This was the last general engagement which took place at the north. It was fought with desperation on both sides. The treachery of Lee came very near being fatal to the cause of American independence. The proof of his treason was not discovered until eighty years after the battle. Had any other general been in command the whole of Clinton's army would probably have been captured, or at least have suffered such a defeat that the war would have been ended with the battle of Monmouth. As it was, owing to his treason it was prolonged, with much useless suffering on both sides, until the surrender at Yorktown. There is no doubt now that Lee had been negotiating with the enemy while he was a prisoner, and was giving aid and counsel to the British while he was in New York. It is believed that he intended to overthrow Washington, and either to try to replace him by causing his defeat, or after the defeat to treat with the British, making the best terms he could for himself, and in that way to gain great credit with the enemy for having terminated the war. He was a traitor whose intentional disregard of his orders caused greater injury to his adopted country than the treason of Benedict Arnold. He lived through his court-martial, because it was not then suspected that it was possible that he could have been guilty of such a crime, only to be dismissed by Congress. Notwithstanding his talents, he died the death of an adventurer, and has gained for himself the contempt and disdain of every American citizen.

After the battle neither side claimed a decisive victory. The English lost 450 in killed and wounded; the Americans, 230. The English retired to commence, as their commissioners had threatened to do, a warfare on the defenseless, with the aid of savages. On July 3d, a week after the battle of Monmouth, the massacre of Wyoming took place.

1778 It was a piece of barbarous savagery, which was stigmatized in England as it should have been, and as it richly deserved. It had been, however, ordered by the ministry, and they neither disavowed their order nor abandoned their policy. Its only effect was to make the Americans more determined than ever to sever forever all connection with a country whose government could indorse such butchery.

In the council held previous to the battle of Monmouth General Paterson was one of the most earnest advocates of the plan of attack which proved so successful. On one of the bas-reliefs of the monument erected in 1884 by the State of New Jersey, he is represented in the group of the thirteen officers comprising the council as the second figure beside Lafayette, earnestly advocating the plan which Lee so entirely disapproved of, and which he came so near turning into a disastrous defeat. The cut on the opposite page, taken from the bas-reliefs on the monument at Hopewell, New Jersey, commemorating the battle, shows General Paterson advocating with General Lafayette the plans for the battle.

From this time on, the British in the north acted entirely on the defensive. They maintained their foothold, but with the exception of a few marauding expeditions they did not again take the offensive in the north. Their efforts were confined to the south, with varying but only temporary success, but in the long run the final result was always failure.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HATED HIGHLANDS.

AFTER the battle of Monmouth Washington saw that it was 1778 useless to try to prevent or to further molest Clinton's retreat, and the army moved leisurely up to White Plains and went into camp near the old battlefield of October, 1776. It arrived about July 25th and remained there up to September 15th. Clinton went to New York, so that both armies occupied the same positions as two years before, but this time the Americans had been the aggressors. In the order of battle which was formed, General Paterson's brigade was assigned to General Gates' division on the left of the line, and was known as the 3d Massachusetts brigade. It was composed of the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 14th Massachusetts line, under Colonels Marshall, Tupper, Brewer, and Bradford, and so remained until after January 1, 1781. It was the largest Continental encampment of the Revolution. The troops were drilled in the tactics which Baron Steuben had devised at Valley Forge. General Paterson took his turn, as he always had done before, as brigadier for the day, and acted as such on July 29th, August 3d, 7th, 12th, 19th, and 25th, and September 10th. During this encampment uniforms were devised, officers' ranks settled, and the regimental and brigade colors fixed. Washington, in a letter to General Heath dated September 6th, writes: "I do not know what device General Paterson will choose to have upon his colors. I will speak to him and desire him to inform you." In an autograph letter of General Washington, he gave to General Paterson the choice of his brigade colors. On September 15th the army moved north, passing through Bedford and Wright's Mills to Fred-

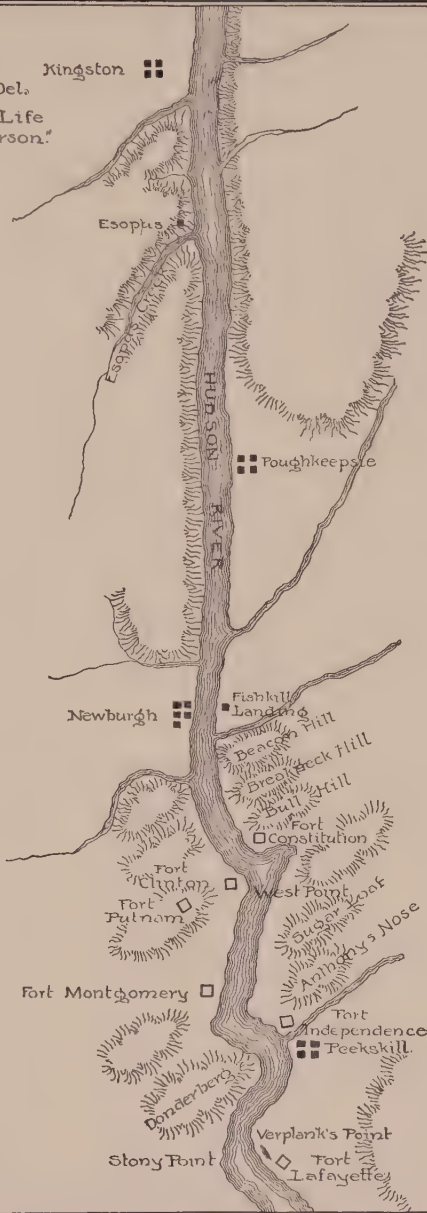
1778 ericksburg. At Fredericksburg the army began to break up for winter quarters. General Paterson with Gates' division went to Danbury on September 20th. On that day orders were issued for the intrenching tools to be sent to the rear of General Paterson's brigade. He was brigadier of the day* at Danbury on September 22d, 25th, and 30th. On October 8th General Paterson presided at a division court-martial at Danbury. General Gates' division was ordered to Peekskill. General Gates himself was ordered to Boston. He arrived there on November 6th, and took command of that department which included Boston and Providence on November 9th. In the last week of October General Gates, with the three Massachusetts regiments, went from Danbury to Hartford. In the first week in November General Paterson was present at a great dinner given in Hartford to General Gates and his officers with every possible patriotic demonstration. Later he returned to West Point. On December 6th he was at Peekskill. General McDougall took command for the winter of the "Posts in the Highlands," which comprised West Point and all the fortifications on both sides of the river near it. It included all the forts as far down as the lower Fort Clinton. There was no special locality known as the Highlands. It was a large area covering all the points more or less commanded or directly connected with West Point. The Massachusetts troops were in this position except the 4th brigade, which had been sent to Rhode Island. Two of these brigades were ordered to encamp on the east side of the river, and General Paterson's brigade was stationed for the winter at West Point. On December 18, 1778, General McDougall being temporarily at West Point, issued the following order:

"His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, having been pleased to order me (General McDougall) to take charge of all the posts on the Hudson River from Poughkeepsie downward, and signified that it was determined in a council of general officers that Brigadier-General Pater-

* The office was a routine of duty and not a post of honor.

MAP
OF THE
HUDSON RIVER
S.B. Brower Del.

Prepared for "The Life
of Maj. Gen. Paterson."



son should take command of the post at West Point; he will please in pursuance of that order to take the command to-morrow morning after guard mounting." 1778

His brigade had been ordered to "the Point" about ten days before. He thus assumed command at West Point as the choice not only of the Commander-in-Chief, but of all the generals who were in the district, and who were then wintering at Middlebrook, New Jersey. West Point had become the most important post, from a strategic point of view, in the north. So long as the Americans held it the New England States were comparatively safe, and no very important move could be made by the British since it was the key to New York, which the Americans would attack just as soon as they left it exposed. General Paterson was selected for this position because he was known to be a man of good judgment, perfectly safe, and not likely to be led by appearances to make a false step.

The campaign of 1778 was brought to a close, on the part of the Americans, principally by want of money. Congress had no power to impose taxes. Each State had more than it could do to take care of its own indebtedness. The country was flooded with counterfeits of the Continental currency, manufactured in England. The real and the counterfeit were equally worthless. The seasons had, however, been favorable, and a rich harvest had been gathered. The country was prosperous. Congress, however, was blind and deaf; it refused either to see or to hear of the wants of the army. Washington's repeated requests for a standing army were unnoticed. Congress persisted in making annual drafts, which left only the nucleus, on which to constantly reorganize the army. They would not hear even of long enlistments. General Washington describes the condition of both forces at the end of the year as follows: "After two years of maneuvering and the strangest vicissitudes, both armies are brought back to the very point from which they set out, and the offending party at the beginning is reduced to the use of the spade and pickax for defense. The hand of Providence has been so

1779 conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude to acknowledge his obligations."

In every act of the British they had as yet depended on their fleets as the basis of their operations and lost their efficiency when they were separated from them. We had had no navy. There had been some fine maneuvering on Lake Champlain, but in the summer of 1778 Paul Jones made such a demonstration on the English coast as to win for the colonies great honor to himself and great confidence in the cause of the colonies, and every demonstration of regard for the man and sympathy for the cause he represented was made by the various countries of Europe.

The Channel fleets of England and France had an indecisive engagement in July, which opened hostilities by sea. Spain, on two different occasions, offered to mediate between the two countries, but the English refused mediation; and finally, on April 12, 1779, Spain signed a treaty with France, and declared war against England in June. She then sent a fleet from Cadiz to join the French.

The commencement of the year 1779 found Congress again without money. They applied to the States for help, but the States did not respond. Finally Congress issued fifty millions more of Continental currency, and as much more at various times during the year. In June the Continental dollar was worth only five cents, and at the end of the year, when there were two hundred millions in circulation, the dollar was worth only three cents. The country was bankrupt, and the seeds whose growth produced such serious results after the war was over, and which threatened to overturn all that had been gained by the long struggle of the Revolution, were already germinating.

From the Highlands on January 19, 1779, General Paterson and his fellow-officers sent forward a petition in behalf of themselves and the soldiers under their command for provisions and clothing. Detachments from his brigade were occasionally ordered down to the outposts near White Plains,

which were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Aaron Burr. 1779
On February 27th General McDougall ordered Burr: "If the enemy move or appear in force on the river, send up Paterson's detachments by forced marches. They will be needed at the Point." On March 23d General Paterson issued orders from Fishkill. On April 29th he, with two companies, went down to Fishkill, where he remained most of the time until July. On May 27th he was at Peekskill. He was back at his post on June 12th, and again took command, and was there in the fall and winter of 1779 and until April, 1780. Major Haskell was his brigade major during this campaign. In July, 1779, the enemy invaded and burned a number of towns in Connecticut, including New Haven. In that month General Heath returned from Boston and took command in the Highlands. He dispatched troops to Connecticut, and on the 19th of July writes that Paterson's brigade was posted at Nelson's Point opposite West Point. A few days previously it had marched as far down as Peekskill and back again. On the night of the 15th of July Stony Point was stormed by a picked American corps, and Washington expected a counter-move from the enemy. He arranged his army east and west of West Point, making it the center, with his headquarters there. In his orders on July 20th he says: "The garrison at West Point, including the island" (that is, Constitution Island) "will for the present consist of Paterson's, Larned's, and the Carolina brigades, General McDougall commandant of the garrison." It was the "Point" which was threatened, and it was therefore strengthened with a division under a major-general. Troops were detailed to work on the forts every day. General Paterson's men were engaged at the batteries at the "Point" and at Fort Putnam above it (see map No. 9). On the 23d of July Washington appointed, from his headquarters at Moore's house on the east side of the river, a board of officers, in which General Paterson was included, to complete the ranking of the Massachusetts officers. Glover's brigade having returned from Rhode Island, all the Massachusetts troops were on the North River. During the summer the work on

1779 the uncompleted forts at the "Point" was pushed with great vigor under General Kosciusko. In August General Paterson went down to Peekskill, but was at the "Point" on the 3d, 6th, 9th, 11th, and 17th as brigadier of the day. He was also at Peekskill in September, and was again brigadier of the day on the 2d and 24th. On September 16th he was at Steenrapie, New Jersey, and on the 23d he was at Orangetown. On October 6, 1779, at the request of a large number of officers and after a special dispensation for the purpose by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, General Paterson was made master of Washington Lodge. This was a traveling lodge, and organized for the benefit of officers and soldiers of the army. Washington often visited this lodge. Their celebrations of the festival of St. John the Baptist were famous. On the 7th of October, 1779, finding it impossible to procure proper cloth for a uniform, he was obliged to ask that the Board of War might be allowed to sell him sufficient cloth to have one made, which was granted the next day :

*"To the Honble. the Council and House of Representatives * of the State of Massachusetts Bay in General Court assembled :*

"The Petition of John Paterson humbly sheweth that no clothing at present is to be had in Camp ; that since he has been in Town he has made search and cannot find any that is suitable ; he therefore humbly requests this Honorable Court that they would permit the Board of War to supply him with a Suit, he paying them their demand, and which will be gratefully acknowledged by your Honors' most obedient and very humble servant,

"JNO PATERSON.

" BOSTON, October 7, 1779. "

On October 28th he was again at Fishkill as brigadier of the day. On November 12th he was at Totoway, New Jersey, and on November 19th he was again brigadier of the day at the "Point." On November 27th Washington, in a letter to General Heath, orders General Paterson's brigade to be again stationed at West Point. On November 29th the commanding officers of the corps met at five o'clock at Gen-

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cexxiv, p. 390.

eral Paterson's quarters to draw lots for huts. General Mc- 1779
Dougall's last order was :

"GARRISON WEST POINT, December 6, 1779.

"General Heath having arrived yesterday at Mr. Mandaville's and the Commander-in-Chief having given permission to the commandant [McDougall] to retire when the event took place, the command, by desire of General Heath, devolves on General Paterson, which he will be pleased to assume after guard mounting."

General Paterson was therefore in command during the winter of 1779-80. How well he remembered his soldiers is shown by the following letter :

"I certify that Edward Bates was sent by the orders of General McDougal out of my Brigade up the North River after Timber, for the Garrison of West Point, and on the return of the Officer, commanding the party, was reported as being unfit for Duty, on account of a wound received in course of the Tour, and in consequence of it was transferred to the Corps of invalids. . . . This was in the year 1779

"JOHN PATERSON B. Gen.

"BOSTON Feb 9th 1786."*

The year 1780 did not bring any relief to the country or to the army, which Congress continually neglected. The Americans, deprived of almost every comfort, sat watching the English in New York, who were quite content and very comfortable. The country was bankrupt. All sorts of obligations, real and counterfeit, the one worth about as much as the other, were in circulation. The false and the real were difficult to distinguish from each other, and circulated about on a par. The army was no longer paid. Officers and men were justly dissatisfied. Desertions were frequent, mutiny was threatened. The army was obliged to sustain itself by foraging, which often degenerated into mere marauding. The money they had to pay, for what they wished to take, was worthless, and they therefore seized what the owner refused to take currency for. They often took possession without proffering pay on the ground that it was useless to offer the

* Owned by W. E. Benjamin, New York.

1780 paper, which was valueless. In the month of January there was neither bread nor meat at West Point for a fortnight. The English were frozen in New York, and could not be supplied by the fleet. They had plenty of gold and silver coin, and they paid it out willingly for produce, so that the farmer frequently forgot his patriotism and furnished them with all the supplies they needed.

On January 26, 1780, a fire broke out in the quartermaster's barracks at West Point which threatened to do great damage. General Paterson, who was in command of the garrison at that time, not only distinguished himself, but also exposed his person to great danger from the flames to save an exposed building, as he had previously done at Cambridge at the commencement of the war.

In the spring of 1780 public confidence seemed to revive a little. Enlistments were numerous. The State sent considerable sums to encourage them, as shown by the receipt below :

“HEAD QUARTERS HIGHLANDS, Feby 20, 1780.

“Received of Major General Heath twenty six thousand one hundred & ninety pounds lawfull money of the State of Massachusetts Bay to be paid to the Commanding officers of Regiments of the Massachusetts State for the purpose of reinlisting the Troops belonging to said State agreeable to a late Resolve thereof for which I sign two receipts of the like tenor and date.

“JOHN PATERSON.*

“attest E. HASKELL.”

Congress, however, paid but little attention to the army. Ever solicitous for the welfare of his command, on May 7th General Paterson wrote from West Point to General Heath a letter which contained some unpleasant truths, begging for provisions for the ill-fed soldiers, and for some action which would prevent their pitiable condition from becoming known to the enemy. This letter is given below. General Heath forwarded it, as a true statement of the case, to the House of Representatives in Boston, where it caused great irritation, and

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cexxvii., p. 351.

in June they caused a resolution to be entered on the minutes 1780 that it was offensive to them.

"WEST POINT, May 7, 1780.

"To Major-General Heath, Boston : *

"SIR: The distress, I was in hopes, arose to its height Years ago; indeed, I then thought our liberties established, but find myself egregiously mistaken. The country, from principles of real Vice, have sacrificed to their darling Mammon the Medium which enabled them to keep an Army in the field and make a stand against Tyranny. This surely will ruin the best Cause Man was ever engaged in, unless some immediate Remedy is found and as suddenly applied. We have been lamenting it as a great Misfortune that the Soldiers were out this Spring in such numbers; but if the unthinking Country will not support what we have now, what would have been our case had we three times as many?

"We have not six days of Meat provision in Garrison, and by accounts from all the purchasers must not expect any until they can be supplied with cash and of a different and better established sort than the present. It must be two or three months, I think, before we can expect it. What shall we do in the interim? To desert this *important post* would ruin the Cause, to live here without provision we cannot, to take it by the Bayonet exceeding disagreeable, but preferable in my Opinion to an Evacuation; indeed, we have but a choice of difficulties, to desert, to take by force, or pawn the public assets in our hands for a short credit. This last perhaps may meet with the approbation of Congress; if not, ruin to him that pursues the plan will be the consequence. I hope the Enemy will not get Information of our circumstances.

"Every Department is at a stand for want of Cash, our Stores are exhausted, the Army unpaid and disheartened. I once thought America had Virtue to encounter the greatest difficulties firm and unshaken, but her conduct shows how weak my Supposition was; indeed, I am fully persuaded the Doctrine of total Depravity (which we have so long denied) is true, and that there is no virtue in man.

"I am ashamed to be continually filling your Ears with Complaints of Details of our misfortunes; be assured I would not do it did not I think it would be of service to the Cause. I am sure you will leave nothing undone to spirit the State to the earliest exertion (they cannot be too much so), for the Crisis is difficult and dangerous, and should we survive I hope we shall be careful of a Relapse.

"We hear from Congress that the Régts. of our State are to be reduced to ten, that the eldest Officers are to have the choice of retiring or continuing. If they retire they are to have half-pay, and at the close of the

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccii., p. 227.

1780 War to be entitled to all the privileges of those that remain in command. I think Congress generous to them, and wish it may be the most proper persons.

"The last accounts from Charleston are that it was completely invested and closely besieged. I wish our troops were out of it, but still hope they will be relieved or sell themselves dear.

"I am, dear General, with perfect regard, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"JOHN PATERSON." *

On July 27th General Paterson wrote from West Point and begged from the President of the Council of Massachusetts Bay a loan of 1500 stands of arms, requesting him to send them immediately, as those expected from Europe had not arrived, and they had not sufficient to arm the new levies, adding that on the "immediate supply the success this year most certainly will in a great degree depend, and probably the events of the war." He did not know then of the new calamity which was to befall the country in the treason of Benedict Arnold.

The scarcity of arms and of provisions had led to the natural result of insubordination arising from the dissatisfaction of the men which expressed itself in disobedience, mutinies, and marauding. The pay of the soldiers was made in worthless paper; the people were tired of the war; they expected deliverance from their enemies, the British, by their allies, the French. The soldiers must have arms. Every one who was not to be present in the rank and file in action was disarmed and their arms given to the soldiers in the ranks,

* This letter was so bitterly true, and the description of the real condition of affairs so accurately written, that it was received with every sign of displeasure, but no other action than the passage of a resolution was taken on it. The treason of Arnold, and the subsequent court-martial of some of the best of the old soldiers, who, finding no other way to get redress, took the law into their own hands, showed how true it was. In some cases the men who were sentenced to be shot were pardoned, it being felt by Washington that the sentence satisfied the law, and that to have executed it on men who had been good soldiers, and who used the wrong means to redress their real wrongs, would have been a mistake.

and still there were nearly four thousand men who had none. 1780
 On the 28th Baron Steuben wrote to Washington that he had asked General Paterson to write this letter to Massachusetts and had also requested General Huntington to write a similar one to Connecticut:

“WEST POINT, July 27, 1780.

“SIR: The bad economy which has inseparably attended the operations of America (until very lately) has reduced our Arms to so small a number that we are not able to Arm our New Levies. From what cause this has arisen is not my business at present to attend to, though I think it obvious.

“The operations of this year depend entirely upon the single circumstance of our being able to procure a sufficiency.

“By some fatal misconduct or neglect the Arms expected from Europe are not arrived, and indeed cannot be expected in season; it is therefore necessary to use every exertion in our power for an immediate supply.

“I have advised Baron Steuben, Inspector-General, to apply to the New England States for the loan of a certain number that they may have on hand or could collect from the several Towns, though this may be attended with difficulty and in some instances to appearance injure individuals, yet when put in competition with an inert Campaign it certainly bears no comparison.

“The Baron has requested of me to write you on the subject. I have not the least doubt that you will do everything in your power to procure an immediate supply. The success of this year most certainly will in a great degree depend on it, and probably the events of the war.

“I am your Honor's most obedient and very humble servant,

“JOHN PATERSON.

“To Hon. J. Powell, President of Council for Massachusetts Bay.”*

The following receipt for levies was given in August:

“CAMP Aug 29 1780

“Recd. of Ensign Blasdel seventeen Levies from the Massachusetts State which are to serve in the Continental Service six months

“JOHN PATERSON B G.”†

No movements of troops of any kind occurred until July and August of this year. The army was concentrated at Peekskill on the east side of the river to make a feint toward New York,

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccii., p. 397.

† Massachusetts Senate Documents, No. 1899.

1780 but Washington afterward changed his mind and marched down the west side of the Hudson on a reconnoissance on a large scale to Forts Lee and Bergen. This movement from the east to the west side took place at Dobbs' Ferry in August. In the same month General Paterson erected a block-house and battery at Dobbs' Ferry to defend the ferry. Divine service was celebrated on Sunday, August 20th, in an open field, and a very effective sermon was preached by Chaplain Enos Hitchcock, of General Paterson's brigade. It had been proposed during the summer to attack New York, and some of the generals strongly favored it, but most of them disapproved, and it was not done. In the formation of the army General Paterson's brigade was put in Baron Steuben's division, second in the line, on the left wing. On this march he was frequently brigadier of the day. They were at Orangetown and Tappan August 10th, Teaneck August 31st, Steenrapie September 12th. The sick of the light infantry and of the right wing who were unable to march were collected in the rear of General Paterson's brigade. On September 12th he was on a general court-martial at Steenrapie, New Jersey. On that day it was ordered that fifty men, properly officered, from every brigade in the army should attend in the rear of General Paterson's brigade. On September 19th orders to march with the sick were received. On September 15, 1780, he wrote to Baron Steuben as follows:

"SIR: *

"I esteem it my duty to represent to you the disagreeable and distressing circumstances of the brigade under my command for the want of provisions. Had this been new or accidental I should not have taken notice of it, but for a number of weeks we have not had an allowance of meat more than half the time; particularly in this month we have had but seven and a half rations. Should this continue, I am fearful of the consequences. The officers, fretted already by the treatment they have met with from the country, are, I believe, in general determined to quit the service at the close of this campaign, and unless times have a better aspect, I fear the others will follow their example.

* Kapp's "Life of Steuben," p. 285.

"Those in my brigade are really in distress, and depend solely on the rations they receive for support, not one in twenty being able to purchase a dinner. It has also a very bad effect upon the soldiery; they, from being moral and peaceable, I find are giving way to those vices which are the peculiar attendants of an army without provisions. 1780

"You may depend, sir, this representation does not proceed from a feverish, complaining disposition, but the contrary. My wish is to see the army well supplied, which I think will effectually prevent all those evils we fear; resignations, mutiny, and marauding would in great degree, if not totally, be prevented, and a spirit of obedience take place in their stead.

"JOHN PATERSON."

During the absence of Washington at Wethersfield, Connecticut, to meet Count Rochambeau, the general of the French troops, and General Duportail, the admiral of the French fleet, Arnold's treason occurred. The news of it reached the army while it was making evolutions forty or fifty miles below, at Orangetown, on September 20th and 27th. Paterson's brigade left West Point to join the army at Peekskill on the 28th of July. Arnold went there on the 3d and 4th of August. After the treason the Pennsylvania division was immediately hurried off to West Point, with a few other troops. It was undoubtedly the absence of the army from West Point which had a great deal to do with the selection of the time for the treason of Arnold. In the meantime Major André had been arrested in our lines. His trial took place on September 29, 1780. The court was composed of all the generals commanding in the vicinity. It was made up of six major-generals and eight brigadier-generals, and a colonel as judge advocate-general. General Paterson was the youngest brigadier of the American army, and the youngest member of the court except Lafayette. He was at that time one of only eight generals of his rank from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania. No greater compliment could have been paid to these officers by their Commander-in-Chief, since he knew that this trial was to be scrutinized and critically judged by all the governments of the world.

After the sitting of the court which tried Major André,

1780 General Paterson wrote in October a letter to General Heath complaining that the country was not supporting the army properly, and suggesting the best methods of enlisting recruits. As for himself, he declared that he was ruined financially, and must resign on that account. He, however, remained to render very efficient service until the end of the war.

On November, 1780, at the request of Colonel Varick, who had been military secretary to Arnold, and by the advice of General Washington, a court of inquiry was held at West Point "to ascertain the part acted by Lieut.-Colonel Varick relative to the transactions of General Arnold." On this trial those who could be present gave testimony among others. General Paterson sent the letter given below. Colonel Varick was acquitted.

"To the Court of Inquiry on the Conduct of Col. Varick :

"CAMP TOTAWA Oct 19th 1780

"I hereby certify on Honor, That I have been particularly acquainted with Col. Varick ever since June 1777 & have ever found him to be the diligent industrious officer; He always appeared to be sincerely concerned for the cause of America & never by Actions or Words, gave me the least suspicion to the Contrary

*"JOHN PATERSON" **

In October, while concentrating some of the troops at West Point, the main army moved to Totoway and remained there about six weeks. On October 7th they were at Orange Farm, and were ordered to march by Paramus to Totoway and to stop at Bogart's Mills. The order was: "The first column will move to the right in the order named and will take the route by Paramus to Totoway. The Connecticut division, General Howe's division, Baron Steuben's division, the Massachusetts corps will patrol during the march for the purpose of taking up stragglers and preventing confusion and disorder. Lord Stirling will direct this column. They will make a short halt to refresh at Bogart's Mills." General Paterson was brigadier of the day at Totoway, October 9th, 15th, 25th, and 30th,

* Owned by W. E. Benjamin, New York.

and on November 4th, 9th, 12th, and 17th. On November 9th 1780 Washington ordered the Massachusetts troops to winter at West Point. On November 27th they left Totoway to man Forts Clinton, Putnam, Willis, and Webb. On November 28, 1780, they went into their winter quarters in the Highlands. The four Massachusetts brigades were thus added to the garrison at West Point, and the general headquarters were established at New Windsor. The 4th brigade was assigned to Fort Clinton and its dependencies, the 2d to the defense of Forts Willis, Putnam, and Webb, the 3d (Paterson's) and the 1st to be ready to act as emergency might require, and "on all alarms to form on their brigade parades ready to receive orders." This winter General Heath was in command in the Highlands and Paterson in command at the "Point."

The summer and fall of 1780 were the darkest days of the American Revolution. The people were wearied, and while the British had gained no substantial ground, it seemed now as if they must. Cornwallis was flushed with victory in the south, and again boasted that he would bag in a few weeks all that was left of the rebel army. Congress had shown itself inefficient and incapable. The people had no confidence in it. They seemed to be attacked by a general administrative paralysis. They had adopted the policy of "fiat money." Congress had no power to tax. In lieu of it they proposed to use a printing-press, and really thought that they could create value by issuing a promise to pay, based upon nothing. The people had suffered more from this depreciation of the currency than from the enemy. It was not that the people were less patriotic, or the country less rich. There were plenty of resources, but the relations of the States to each other were not defined. There were jealousies in the States and among the military of the different States, so that a great deal of energy was frittered away. At the end of 1778 a paper dollar was worth sixteen cents in the north and twelve cents in the south. In 1780 it fell to two cents, and Washington said it took a wagon-load of money to purchase a wagon-load of provisions. In October the following wholesale prices ruled in Boston:

1780 Indian corn, \$150 a bushel; butter, \$12 a pound; tea, \$90; sugar, \$10; beef, \$8; coffee, \$12; flour, \$157½ per barrel. A suit of clothes was worth \$2000. From here the value of the bills went to nothing. The people, and Congress as well, were obliged to depend on "specific supplies." People were not paid, but furnished with so much flour, beef, rice, potatoes, and rum. The whole country lent itself to the principle of the old-fashioned New England "donation parties," still extant in New England up to the time of the Civil War. It was the darkest period, but it was just before the dawn. If the Americans were exhausted, so were the British, and all that was necessary to finish the war were the successes which were to come in the south.

After the treason of Arnold there was but little fighting in the north. The work of the army consisted mostly of field maneuvers, with some few alarms, but few combats. It was necessary to hold West Point and the Highlands of the Hudson River, and to make feints from there to prevent the British from going any distance from New York. The Highlands got the name of the "hated Highlands" for the reason that there were nearly five years of inactivity spent there while active campaigning was going on in the south. General Paterson was one of those condemned to this inactivity so far as fighting was concerned, but his record during these years is as bright as it was while he was actively engaged.

Towards the close of the year Congress determined to redeem the two hundred millions of paper already issued by ten millions, bearing interest at five per cent., redeemable in natural produce at the end of six years. Four parts of this were to go to Congress, six were to be divided proportionally among the States according to the amount of old notes which they had issued. The expenditures of the year 1780 were three millions. The French and Spanish loans and this credit were expected to cover all immediate claims. The holders of the old paper, as they were to receive only one dollar of the new issue for forty of the old, did not present it, and before long one dollar in coin became worth as much as five

hundred of the old paper. Under these conditions, in February, 1781, Robert Morris was appointed to study the financial situation. 1780-1781

On November 28th the army went into winter quarters, the Jersey brigades returned to that State, the four Massachusetts brigades were added to the garrison at West Point, and the two from Connecticut were stationed on the east side of the Hudson River opposite to Constitution Island. The general headquarters were established at New Windsor. On November 30th General Heath writes: "The four Massachusetts brigades arrived at West Point, where they went into winter quarters." In this winter of 1780-81 General Heath commanded at West Point himself. The 1st brigade was at Fort Clinton, the 2d at West Point, and the 3d, which was Paterson's, and the 4th were ordered to be ready to act in any emergency. General Paterson remained at West Point until June, 1781.

The year 1780-81 was one of great distress. General Paterson spent the winter at West Point. The season was a severe one. The troops had neither sufficient clothing nor food. The currency of the country was wholly of paper, which was depreciated and depreciating. The army had been obliged to seize grain to keep themselves alive, as the States neglected or refused to furnish it. We had been defeated at Charleston in May, and at Camden in August. We had received reinforcements from France, but they had done but little. Arnold was a traitor. The war was long, and the people began to be tired, and to show the effects of it in apathy about the army. Many of the enlistments had been made just after Saratoga for "three years or the war," but the three years were up, and the war seemed no nearer its close than before. The soldiers wished to be released, but the officers insisted on the contract being kept. Some of the troops marched out of their camps in excellent order to go to Philadelphia to frighten Congress into granting them redress. They refused to listen to the British emissaries; they were not traitors; and actually hanged the men who came from them as spies. They refused

1781 to listen to the officers sent to them by Washington; but finally, when the president of Congress granted them all their terms, they quietly dispersed. The next mutiny, on the 20th of January, was not treated in this way. The troops were surrounded, forced to lay down their arms, and the ringleaders shot.

On January 1st the army was re-brigaded, and Paterson's brigade was made the 2d Massachusetts brigade and included the 2d Massachusetts regiment, Colonel Sprout; the 8th, Colonel M. Jackson; and the 5th, Colonel Putnam. His aide-de-camp was Lieutenant Thomas Cole, and his brigade chaplain was Rev. Enos Hitchcock, a graduate of Harvard and afterward a celebrated Doctor of Divinity at Beverly, Massachusetts. On January 1, 1781, they were at New Windsor. On January 15th, from West Point, General Knox appealed to Congress on behalf of the Massachusetts troops. The order given below shows how the troops were paid, and the confidence which the authorities felt in the eventual success of the war:

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts :

"By His Excellency the Governor

"You are by and with the Advice and Consent of Council, ordered and directed to pay unto John Paterson Brigr General the Sum of One hundred and Twelve pounds ten shillings one half thereof to be paid in Specie the other half in Bills of the New Emission at their nominal value which is to be hereafter ascertained on account of three Months pay for the year 1780 agreeable to a resolve of the 16 June last for which this shall be your Warrant.

"Given under my hand at Boston the Seventh Day of August 1781 in the Sixth Year of American Independence.

"£112: 10

*"JOHN HANCOCK.**

"To Hon. Henry Gardner Esq Treasurer.

"By Order of the Governor with the Advice and Consent of Council

"John Avery Sec'ry

"His Excellency the Governor & Honble Council.

"This Certifies that John Paterson Esq, Brigadier General is intitled to receive One hundred & twelve pounds ten shillings in Specie being for

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. ccxxvii., p. 351.

wages due to him in the last three months of the year 1780 Agreeable to 1781 a resolve of the General Court of March last.

“STEPHEN GORMAN }
 “THOS WALLEY } Committee.”
 “SAMUEL AUSTIN }

In May and June General Paterson was at West Point, where he received personal orders from Washington to hold the troops in constant readiness for action, to instruct the water-guards to maintain extra vigilance, and to use every endeavor to obtain information of the enemy's numbers and designs, and to report to him at New Windsor daily. The following receipt and order from Lenox show how tardy and of how little value was the payment of the troops:

“I hereby certify that Mr Ebenezer Bement of Great Barrington on the 10th day of June A D 1777 was by Gen^l Orders Appointed Brigade Major to Me. In Office he continued to Act, with reputation Till the seventh day of July then next. When at the Battle of Hubarton he was wounded and taken Prisoner, and was not exchanged till the seventh of January 1779 and had not Rec'd the nominal sum of his Wagers untill the 12th of August 1779 I think it my duty on this Occasion to Observe that it appears to me Highly reasonable that Majr Bement should be allowed for the depreciation of the Currency to the time he Received the nominal sum in Continental Currency which was the 12th of August 1779.

“JOHN PATERSON *B Genl.*”

“LENEX April 1781.”

In May, in fear of an attack, General Washington sent the following letter to General Paterson, which, with the reply, is given below:

“*To Brig.-Gen. Paterson at West-Point, H. Q., New Windsor, May 14th, 1781.*

“DEAR SIR: I have received yours of this day. Should the enemy still be out, you will instantly put the Connecticut Line in motion, with orders to reinforce the corps under Colonel Scammel. The troops must all be held in the most perfect readiness for action, and the water-guards be instructed to use the greatest vigilance.

“Every effort will be necessary to gain early, regular, and constant intelligence of the enemy's number, motions, and designs, which you will be pleased to communicate to me.

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cccxxiv., p. 290.

- 1781 "Should anything material happen, I shall wish to be informed immediately, and even though nothing of consequence should take place, you will please to let me hear from you by morning.

"I am, etc.,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON." *

"WEST POINT, May 14, 1781.

"SIR: I have just received your Excellency's letter. The Enemy having retired makes the Disposition mentioned in your letter, with respect to them, at this Time unnecessary. This moment I have received the inclosed Letters, which agreeable to your Excellency's desire, as they contain the latest Intelligence I have, I have transmitted. Should I hear anything more respecting this unhappy affair, I shall as early as possible communicate it to your Excellency.

"I am

"respectfully

"your obedient and very humble

"Servant

"JOHN PATERSON." †

His Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Endorsed

From General Paterson
enclosing letter from Col. Scammell.

In June the army went into the field at Peekskill. Washington moved down to Yonkers for a feint upon New York. General Paterson's brigade was in General Lincoln's division left of first line. In July, 1781, he marched from Peekskill toward New York, and took position at Phillipsburg, near Dobbs' Ferry. On July 21st they were at Verplanck's and Stony Point. During the winter of 1779-80 the harbor of New York was frozen over so solidly that crossing from shore to shore was easily done. This was a constant menace to the British, who feared that the Americans would take this occasion to attack the city. The American army was too destitute to attempt any field maneuvers on a large scale, but this was fortunately not known to the British. The fear of the British that an attack would be made was a strong defense to these

* Washington's "Letters," vol. iii., No. 65.

† Collection of S. Gratz, Esq., of Philadelphia.

destitute troops. Both parties were content to watch each other's movements. Nothing was done during the summer which realized any substantial gain to either party. In May, 1781, Washington held a conference with Rochambeau, the French commander, as the result of which the French fleet set sail, it was thought, for the Hudson. Clinton kept himself fully informed of these movements. He expected an attack, and the greater part of the American army expected to make it. Washington had studiously fostered this idea. Movements of the troops were constantly made, apparently with the idea of confirming this opinion. In July, with this end in view, an attack was made on the English posts. Clinton, certain that the expected attack on New York was soon to be made, called on Cornwallis in Yorktown for troops. Each army was on the alert against any movement. On August 14th Washington heard that Count de Grasse was to enter the Chesapeake. The American posts were all garrisoned for defense—those in the north for any attack from Canada, and those on the Hudson from New York. Every means was taken to convince Clinton that New York was in great danger. On August 19th Washington broke up camp on the east side of the Hudson, crossed the river, and started for Yorktown. Clinton knew of this movement, but still firm in his belief that New York was to be attacked, thought that it was to be done by way of Staten Island. The army left on the Hudson maneuvered in such a way as to confirm this belief. On August 23d Washington issued general orders for the march. The next day the army had started south. It was not until about September 1st, when Washington was ready to cross the Delaware, that Clinton discovered his mistake, and it was then too late for him to oppose the movement. The army in the Highlands prevented any serious movement of the British, either in New York or New England, and made it unsafe for Clinton to send any reinforcements to Cornwallis at Yorktown. When Washington started for Yorktown he needed men on whose judgment he could have perfect reliance, and in whose ability to check any advance on the river

1781-1782 fortifications he could trust, and so General Paterson and others were left to watch the British in New York from their strongholds on the Hudson. In August, September, and October General Paterson was at West Point, in November he was at New Windsor, and in December he was at Verplanck's Point with General Washington. On December 15th he was again at the "Point." On that day it was ordered "General Paterson's brigade will muster on Monday next at 11 A.M." The Massachusetts divisions remained under General Heath to defend the Highlands. General Heath fell back to Peekskill, and the following winter of 1781-82 was spent for the most part at West Point. From January to May, 1782, General Paterson was at New York Huts, near the "Point." In February the officers sent a petition to Congress relating to land grants which had been promised them.

"WESTPOINT, Feb. 3, 1782.

"SIR: The officers of the Massachusetts line having made choice of Captain Heywood to go to Philadelphia with their memorial, I wish you to take the trouble of informing the commanding officers of the several regiments under your command that it is necessary they send to Capt. Heywood as soon as possible, the sum (ten Dollars) which was voted, at a former meeting of the officers, to be advanced for defraying his expenses.

"I am, sir, your most obedt Servt

"JOHN PATERSON.*

"COLONEL H. JACKSON."

On April 7th he was a member of the court-martial to try Major-General McDougall. On April 28th, while General Paterson was at New York Huts, his brigade was reviewed by Washington and complimented in general orders. On May 23d General Paterson and all officers commanding brigades were ordered to meet at General Heath's headquarters at 1 P.M. On May 31, 1782, at West Point, the birth of the Dauphin of France was notified to the command with military honors. The orders were as follows: "The commander-in-

* From the collection of Chas. Roberts, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pa.

chief announces the birth of a Dauphin of France. At 7.30 1782 the *feu-de-joie* will commence with the discharge of thirteen pieces of cannon from the park, succeeded by fire of musketry from the infantry as follows: 2d Massachusetts Brigade, 1st Massachusetts Brigade." On June 8, 1782, and again on June 10th at Newburg, General Washington complimented the appearance and maneuvering of the Massachusetts brigade, and said he "never saw men in service make a more respectable appearance." On June 17, 1782, the following brigade orders were issued by General McDougall, who had been in command since December, 1781: "The Hon. Brigadier-General Paterson having expressed his wish that some honorary mark of distinction should be worn by each non-commissioned officer or private in his brigade who had served in the army of the United States a certain length of time, and has also made a present of material for that purpose, therefore the commandant thinks proper to direct that each non-commissioned officer and private who has served four years in Continental regiments shall be entitled to wear one stripe of white tape on the left sleeve of his regimental coat. This stripe shall extend from seam to seam on the upper part of the sleeve three inches from and parallel with shoulder-seam, so that the tape may form a herring-bone figure."

In June, July, and August General Paterson was still at West Point. On August 29th he was at Newburg. He had the 2d Massachusetts brigade (left wing) commanded by Major-General Heath. The division was under Major-General Howe. On the 31st of August the Massachusetts brigades and the Highland troops generally moved down by water to Verplanck's Point, on the east side of the river, and remained there until October. He was brigadier of the day on September 3d, 7th, 11th, 14th, 18th, October 15th and 20th. While there the brigade was put into General Howe's division on the left wing under General Heath. In September and October he was at Verplanck's Point, busily engaged in drilling the troops and bringing them up to a high state of discipline. On October 28th the army broke up camp and went to New

1782 Windsor and Newburg, encamping back of New Windsor, the encampment being called "the Newburg encampment" or "the New Windsor cantonment." On December 16th he and General Gates settled disputes about rank in the Connecticut line. General Paterson's brigade was encamped for the winter about one and a half miles west of New Windsor. He commanded the left wing of this encampment.

The distress of the army had now become so great, partly from the depreciation of the currency, partly from the want of supplies, partly from the neglect of prompt payment of the officers and soldiers, that in December he, with others, sent a strong appeal to Congress for a proper relief for the army.

"CANTONMENTS ON THE HUDSON RIVER, December, 1782.

"To the United States in Congress assembled :

"The address and petition of the officers of the Army of the United States Humbly Sheweth

"That we, the officers of the army of the United States, in behalf of ourselves and our brethren the soldiers, beg leave, with all proper deference and respect, freely to state to Congress, the supreme power of the United States, the great distress under which we labour.

"At this period of the war it is with peculiar pain we find ourselves constrained to address your august body, on matters of a pecuniary nature. We have struggled with our difficulties, year after year, under the hopes that each would be the last; but we have been disappointed. We find our embarrassments thicken so fast, and have become so complex, that many of us are unable to go further. In this exigence we apply to Congress for relief as our head and sovereign.

"To prove that our hardships are exceedingly disproportionate to those of any other citizens of America, let a recurrence be had to the paymaster's accounts, for four years past. If to this it should be objected, that the respective States have made settlements and given securities for the pay due, for part of that time, let the present value of those nominal obligations be ascertained by the monied men, and they will be found to be worth little indeed; and yet, trifling as they are, many have been under the sad necessity of parting with them, to prevent their families from actually starving.

"We complain that shadows have been offered to us while the substance has been gleaned by others.

"Our situation compels us to search for the cause of our extreme poverty. The citizens murmur at the greatness of their taxes, and are aston-

ished that no part reaches the army. The numerous demands, which are 1782
between the first collectors and the soldiers, swallow up the whole.

"Our distresses are now brought to a point. We have borne all that men can bear—our property is expended—our private resources are at an end, and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant applications. We, therefore, most seriously and earnestly beg that a supply of money may be forwarded to the army as soon as possible. The uneasiness of the soldiers for want of pay, is great and dangerous; any further experiments on their patience may have fatal effects.

"The promised subsistence or ration of provisions consisted of certain articles specified in kind and quantity. The ration, without regard, that we can conceive, to the health of the troops, has been frequently altered, as necessity or conveniency suggested, generally losing by the change some part of its substance. On an average, not more than seven or eight tenths have been issued. The retained parts were, for a short time, paid for; but the business became troublesome to those who were to execute it. For this or some other reasons, all regard to the dues, as they respected the soldiers, has been discontinued (now and then a trifling gratuity excepted). As these dues respected the officers, they were compensated during one year, and part of another, by an extra ration; as to the retained rations, the account for several years remains unsettled; there is a large balance due upon it, and a considerable sum for that of forage.

"The clothing was another part of the soldiers' hire. The arrearages on that score, for the year 1777, were paid off in continental money, when the dollar was worth about fourpence; the arrearages for the following years are unliquidated, and we apprehend scarcely thought of but by the army. Whenever there has been a real want of means, any defect in system, or neglect in execution, in the departments of the army, we have invariably been the sufferers, by hunger and nakedness, and by languishing in an hospital.

"We beg leave to urge an immediate adjustment of all dues; that as great a part as possible be paid, and the remainder put on such a footing as will restore cheerfulness to the army, revive confidence in the justice and generosity of its constituents, and contribute to the very desirable effect of re-establishing public credit.

"We are grieved to find that our brethren, who retired from service on half-pay, under the resolution of Congress in 1780, are not only destitute of any effectual provision, but are become the objects of obloquy. Their condition has a very discouraging aspect on us, who must sooner or later retire, and from every consideration of justice, gratitude, and policy, demands attention and redress.

"We regard the act of Congress respecting half-pay, as an honourable and just recompense for several years' hard service, in which the health and fortunes of the officers have been worn down and exhausted. We

1782 see with chagrin the odious point of view in which the citizens of too many of the States endeavour to place the men entitled to it. We hope, for the honour of human nature, that there are none so hardened in the sin of ingratitude, as to deny the justice of the reward. We have reason to believe that the objection generally is against the mode only. To prevent, therefore, any altercation and distinctions which may tend to injure that harmony which we ardently desire may reign throughout the community, we are willing to commute the half-pay pledged, for full pay for a certain number of years, or for a sum in gross, as shall be agreed to by the committee sent with this address. And in this we pray, that the disabled officers and soldiers, with the widows and orphans of those who have expended or may expend their lives in the service of their country, may be fully comprehended. We also beg, that some mode may be pointed out for the eventual payment of those soldiers who are the subjects of the resolution of Congress of the 15th May, 1778.

"To the representation now made, the army have not a doubt that Congress will pay that attention which the serious nature of it requires. It would be criminal in the officers to conceal the general dissatisfaction which prevails, and is gaining ground in the army, from the pressure of evils and injuries, which, in the course of seven long years, have made their condition in many instances wretched. They therefore entreat, that Congress, to convince the army and the world that the independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of her citizens, will point out a mode for immediate redress.

"H. KNOX, <i>M. General.</i>	} On part of the Massachusetts line.
"JOHN PATERSON, <i>B. General.</i>	
"J. GREATON, <i>Colonel.</i>	
"JOHN CRANE, <i>Colonel.</i>	
"H. MAXWELL, <i>Lieut. Colonel.</i>	

[Here follows eight other signatures of officers of troops of four other States.]

"MOSES HAZEN, *Brigadier-General,*

"*Cantonments, Hudson River, December, 1782.*" *

In March, 1783, Lieutenant Phelon was appointed his aide-de-camp, to take effect from June, 1782. General Paterson was brigadier of the day on April 17th and 26th, May 1st, 5th, 9th, 26th, and June 1st, 5th, and 17th. The Massachusetts troops and the rest of the garrison were reviewed and complimented by General Washington. This was the last winter encamp-

* From Journals of Congress, April, 1783, vol. viii., p. 167, Philadelphia, 1800.

ment of the Revolutionary army. They remained here until 1783 the 20th of June, when the army was mustered out, but the Massachusetts troops remained in service. They were divided into brigades. On June 20th the following order was issued from Newburg: "Brigadier-General Paterson will take command of the 1st Massachusetts brigade and Brigadier-General Greateon of the 2d. These troops will march to-morrow to West Point for accurate inspection." General Greateon had been promoted on January 7th. The post was at that time in command of Major-General Knox. By the orders of the Secretary of War the men were employed in building arsenals and magazines at that post. General Paterson, in expectation of immediately going there, wrote to General Knox on the 21st the letter given below:

"To Major-General Knox:

"SIR: I have directed my Quarter Master to proceed with all possible dispatch to West Point, & receive your instructions where the troops are to be encamped: I could wish that they might occupy the ground which I referred to when you was at the public building on Thursday last, so far as is convenient, at least.

"The troops will leave this ground on Monday morning next, & make the best of their way to the Point.

"I have desired the Q. Master to apply to you for instructions what steps he must take to procure me agreeable Quarters; I prefer a house to myself, being more satisfactory than with company. Your politeness in this matter will much oblige, Sir,

"Your most obedient &

"Humble servant

"JOHN PATERSON.

"MASSACHUSETTS HUTTS, 21st June, 1783."*

The news that riots had broken out among the dissatisfied Pennsylvania troops and that Congress had been actually surrounded and threatened by less than three hundred men, and had felt obliged to leave Philadelphia to meet in Princeton, reached Washington at Newburg on the 24th of June. He immediately altered his previous orders, and now ordered Major-General Howe to go at once to Philadelphia with 1500

* From the collection of Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of Boston.

1783 men. General Paterson and his brigade were ordered to form part of these troops.

“WEST POINT, June 22d, 1783.*

“Gen. Patersons brigade & one Regt are to be ready to march to-morrow morning, to move to King’s Ferry, by water. Gen Paterson will give returns. Gen Paterson will order a subaltern, two sergeants & 24 rank & file to relieve posts 3 & 4. Brigade orders from Gen Paterson commanding Hospital subjects to be sent to Philadelphia.”

On receiving these orders General Paterson started at once, as the letter below shows :

“REYNOLD’S HOUSE, SMITH’S CLOVE,

“Thursday morning, June 26, 1783.

“DEAR GENERAL : Your favor of last evening reached me this morning—where I had arrived about ten minutes prior to the arrival of your Letter—Your injunctions relative to my pressing on shall meet with all due notice—I shall make no unnecessary delay, and not remain longer on this ground than giving sufficient time for the soldiery to cook the fresh provisions they have on hand, to prevent its being lost—the weather we find exceedingly warm, and I am sorry to add that a *number* of the men are destitute of shoes, which I fear will impede the march, unless some steps are devised to supply them.

“If possible, you may depend on my seeing Ringwood this evening—and be assured that nothing shall be wanting on my part to facilitate the wishes of Congress, my General, and yourself.

“I am, Dear Sir, with esteem & respect

“Your humble servant

“7 o’clock, A.M.

“JOHN PATERSON, *B. Gen’l.*”†

He went to King’s Ferry with the 1st, 2d, and 3d Massachusetts regiments to go by water to Philadelphia to put down the mutiny, and presided over the court-martial to punish the offenders. On July 16th the court-martial went into session ; it was postponed until further orders on September 4th. On July 8th,‡ at Philadelphia, General Paterson was ordered to fix on a convenient place for the people coming to market in camp to dispose of their produce. The 1st regiment was ordered as

* Garrison Orders, Worcester.

† From the collection of Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of Boston.

‡ Captain Cushing’s orderly books, Worcester.

his personal guard. On July 12th the 3d regiment took the 1783 place of the 1st. On July 15th a general court-martial, of which General Paterson was to be president, was ordered the next day. On July 17th, 18th, 19th, and 26th the 1st regiment was ordered to be his guard. On August 24th he was ordered to determine the number of guards necessary for each regiment. On September 21st it was ordered, "for the execution of Sergeants Naggle and Morrison of the Pennsylvania line, General Paterson shall appoint the place and give all the necessary directions." These men were among the mutineers sentenced by the court-martial. They were pardoned before the execution. On September 25, 1783, General Howe, who was in command, complimented General Paterson's troops as they were about to leave on the next day for West Point. He returned to West Point in October, and was discharged in December, 1783.

It thus appears that General Paterson was constantly in the Highlands from the winter of 1778-79 until 1783, and that he frequently commanded at West Point. There were but four generals who were closely identified with West Point during the Revolution—leaving Arnold out of the question, whose connection was short and inglorious. The first was General Parsons, who commanded in the winter of 1777-78, and who was the first commander there. The second was General Paterson, who was in sole command during the winters of 1778-79, 1779-80. During the winter of 1780-81 he was under General Heath, and 1781-82, under McDougall, four seasons. This was much longer than any other general or garrison commander. He was also at the "Point" in the summer and fall of 1783, before he went to Philadelphia, and after his return. The third was General McDougall, who had general command, and was actual commandant at times, as during the fall and winter of 1781-82. The fourth was General Heath, who was there for three seasons. General Knox was only in charge during the time that the army was being disbanded, or from June to December, 1783. General Paterson was at West Point almost continuously from December 18,

1783 1778, to July, 1780, more than a year and a half. The Massachusetts troops which he commanded formed the garrison either in whole or in part during these four seasons. He was never away except for very short periods, and then generally on duty elsewhere. West Point was his station. From July to December, 1780, he was with the main army under Washington moving about on the west side of the river at Dobbs' Ferry, Orangetown, Liberty Pole, Totoway, etc., then back to West Point to remain until August, 1781, when he was with the army on the east side of the river a short time under Washington, until the Commander-in-Chief went to Yorktown, and then under General Heath, when he went back again to West Point and stayed there until the summer of 1782. After this date the whole army was under Washington's personal command, and was collected there simply to keep itself in form, and had a fine camp at Verplanck's Point. It then crossed up to New Windsor and wintered there for the last time, 1782-83, West Point being garrisoned at that time by a few troops who could winter in its huts. A general at that time was no longer needed there. In March, 1783, he signs himself "commander of the left wing of Newburg cantonment." On the 2d of April he signs himself "senior officer of the Massachusetts line."

"CANTONMENTS AMERICAN ARMY,

"NEW WINDSOR, April 2, 1783.

"SIR: A vacancy for a majority happened for Captain John Burnam of the Massachusetts Line on the 7th January last, by the promotion of Colonel Greateon, therefore I request your Excellency would be pleased to issue him a Warrant agreeable to transmit it hence as soon as may be.

"I am with respectful sentiments of esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant

"JOHN PATERSON, *B. Genl.**

"His Excellency

"*Senior officer Massats Line.*

"GOVERNOR HANCOCK."

The treaty of peace was signed in Paris on January 20, 1783. It arrived in Philadelphia on March 23d and was proclaimed on April 17th. Two days later, April 19th, was the

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. clxxix., p. 226.

anniversary of the battle of Lexington, eight years previously. 1783
And so the struggle for freedom resulted, after eight years of war, within a day or two of the anniversary of the day it commenced, in the complete independence of the colonies and the establishment of a free government, *and on the anniversary of the day when John Paterson ordered his men to be ready to march at sunrise the next morning.*

The war closed officially on the 18th of April, 1783. The proclamation closing it was ordered to be read the next day at the head of every regiment and corps of the army, after which the chaplains with the several brigades were ordered to render thanks to Almighty God for the blessing of peace and for all His mercies. The religious spirit which had so characterized every act of the foundation of this country was still the prominent spirit of those days. In this proclamation General Washington made a prophecy which has become true in a much more general way than he could possibly have expected. His proclamation closes with these words:

“Happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced hereafter who have contributed anything, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous fabric of freedom and empire on the broad basis of independency, who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature and of establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.”

Orders were at once issued by the Secretary of War for the disbanding of the army, which was to be accomplished gradually. It took place by degrees during the summer. The general muster out of the army took place on June 13th. Only a few regiments were retained in service. On June 23d the camp at Newburg broke up and moved to West Point, where General Knox now commanded, as that was the only position of importance in that quarter necessary to be held. When peace was formally concluded, the rest of the army was disbanded by proclamation on November 2d, 1783, but the four Massachusetts regiments which General Paterson had commanded were encamped in the Highlands and

1783 were retained until December, 1783, when they and he retired together to private life. The last of the British soldiers left New York on November 25th. Washington and Governor Clinton entered the city the same day. More than twenty thousand loyalists left their homes, after the British went, to settle in various countries near the United States. A few returned to England, but many who could not go remained to die in the belief that the country, now separated from England, could never become anything but a feeble state, and that the war from its commencement had been a mistake. On September 30th, 1783, General Paterson was commissioned as a major-general. He left the army in December, 1783, having remained in the service continually since his appointment as colonel. He was one of the last generals to leave the army. On his retirement he was granted half-pay for life. When he left Lenox that Saturday morning of 1775 at sunrise the thirteen colonies were bounded on the west by the Alleghanies; when he resigned his commission and returned to that town the United States was bounded on the west by the Mississippi.

When the war was over, Congress, which had never fully commanded the confidence of the people, seemed to have lost it entirely. It had during the war been in many cases controlled, or at least led, by intriguers. It had had no settled policy. It had been in favor of compromises when to make them would have been ruinous. It had listened gravely at times to calumniators of Washington, but had not acted on their suggestions, because the simple greatness of the man did not allow it. It had neglected both the navy and the army. The former made no complaints. The gains made by that exceedingly irregular arm of the service had been very large; they made no complaints because they did not wish either criticism or investigation. The army had never been properly supported. It had no perquisites, it made no gains. It did the hard fighting and endured the suffering like heroes, never like mere soldiers for pay. When they had been paid at all, it was in a depreciated currency, which eventually became

worthless. The whole army felt that they had suffered as great wrong from Congress and from their own States or Provinces as the colonies had ever suffered from England. They had fought eight years to gain redress from British wrongs, and at the end of it were greater sufferers than they had been at the commencement of the war. There were influential people who supported the formation of an organized movement to compel Congress to fulfill its broken promises. There were threatenings of civil war. Congress made further promises, which it did not and could not fulfill. Bitter feelings were openly displayed in public meetings in New England. No one was satisfied; everywhere there were local and personal jealousies. The seed of discontent was germinating, but was prevented by wise counsel from growing into civil war, as it afterward did in Massachusetts.

The cost of the war had been, on an average, twenty millions of dollars a year. The country had received from France and Spain, as gifts, two and a half millions. It had borrowed seven millions from France, two millions from Holland, and one and a half millions from Spain. The public debt was between nine and ten millions. All the rest of the obligations of the country had faded out in the depreciation of the paper issued by Congress. Of the total debt, Congress had spent about two thirds and the States one third. The arrearages of interest on the public debt had been forgiven by the countries who held the obligations. An arrangement was made with them that the principal was to be repaid in yearly installments, commencing three years after peace was concluded. The difference had been entirely lost. This was the contribution which the people had made. They had given both their blood and their treasure to the country, and, though dissension was rife, and resistance to the law and violent acts were counseled, they, for the most part, when the war was over, returned to their homes, and became as active in the arts of peace as they had been in those of war.

These had been a tedious four years; no fighting, no activity, nothing but feints and keeping ready to act on the offensive

1783 at any time, should the occasion require. "They also serve who only stand and wait" was but little consolation to these men, who were burning with the desire to serve their country in some way and yet were obliged to remain idle. No wonder, with no chance for action, no opportunity for showing how deeply they loved their country and how willing they were to sacrifice everything to it, that the Highlands got the name of the "hated Highlands," the "execrable Highlands." But these men did their duty and did it well, for West Point was the key to the military situation in the north, a point which by feint and otherwise the British commander tried to get, but never dared to attack. It was the strategic key to the situation. The fact that it was held and continued to be held was as much a victory for the patriots as though they had won a series of bloody battles in the field.

They all helped to establish on the firmest basis the government of the country of which Gladstone, in one of his speeches, says: "I incline to think that the future of America is of greater importance to Christendom at large than that of any other country."

General Paterson held the highest rank in the Continental army attained by any citizen of Berkshire County. He was one of the very few major-generals holding command at the close of the war. With the exception of Lafayette, he was the youngest officer of his rank in the Revolutionary army. He had the complete confidence of his superiors, not only as a patriot and a soldier, but as a man of sound judgment. His early experience as a lawyer and as a leader of men had ripened his judgment and given to his mind a judicial character. It is noticeable that he appears almost at once on courts-martial, and frequently as president, when the natural course would have been to have placed an officer of higher rank in the position. He was selected not only on account of his character as a soldier, but for his knowledge of law and his eminent judicial ability. He was one of the youngest, if not the youngest, brigadiers in the American army, but he always occupied positions of great trust. Hardly any other

general had seen so much active service and did so much 1783 fighting. He was in the Continental Congress, the siege of Boston, the Canada campaign, both the Jersey campaigns, and the surrender of Burgoyne, and from that time on he was always on the watch-tower to prevent action on the part of the British, and in every situation his work was not only well done, but defied criticism. Every letter of his is full of the care which he had for his men, and shows the tact with which he managed them.

CHAPTER VII.

PEACE.

1783 DURING the war General Paterson had formed intimate acquaintances with many of the foreign officers. He was associated with General Kosciusko, the Polish hero, with whom he formed an especially close and intimate friendship, often, from the necessity of war, sleeping in the same bed. They were spirited, sprightly men. Kosciusko was full of life, and sometimes played practical jokes upon General Paterson when in bed, making a trial of strength; and occasionally General Paterson, who was a great athlete, would take Kosciusko across his knee and hold him till he begged to be released, calling him "a cruel man." They were in the battles of Bemis' Heights and of Saratoga and in the northern campaign together, and were stationed at West Point after the treason of Arnold. General Kosciusko's quarters were on the bend of the river, where his monument now stands. General Paterson's quarters were opposite, at the base of the hill.

Slavery was tolerated at that time in the province of Massachusetts. General Paterson's body-servant was Agrippa Hull,* who was generally called "Grippy." He always claimed that he was the son of an African prince. He served with him through the war. He was intelligent and unusually bright. His aptness and wit and his readiness in repartee, as well as the intelligent manner in which he performed all his duties, made him a great favorite with all the officers of the army stationed at "the Point." Kosciusko took a fancy to Grippy, and after a time became much attached to him, and General Paterson gave him to him as a servant. Kosciusko

* He has been erroneously called Agrippa Hunt.

made Grippy his confidential and head servant, and put him 1783 in charge of his wardrobe. The General had brought with him from Poland a costly uniform, said to have been brilliant with adornments, with a chapeau or crown-shaped cap and a showy cluster of nodding ostrich plumes. On one occasion Kosciusko went from West Point down the river some miles, expecting to cross over and be gone two or three days. In the meantime Grippy improvised a dinner-party and invited to it all the black servants in camp. He dressed himself in General Kosciusko's Polish uniform. As a substitute for boots or black stockings, he blacked his legs in order to make them shine like boots. Kosciusko, for some reason finding he could not cross the river, returned unexpectedly the same day to camp. Before reaching his quarters he was apprized of what was going on, while the dinner was in progress. He left his horse and reached the front of his quarters at the bend of the river, without being discovered. The weather was warm, the windows all open, with a screen placed before the open door to exclude the entertainment from the view of passers-by. The party were drinking wine freely and were very hilarious. The General managed to get behind the screen unobserved, just as the party, all standing, were ceremoniously drinking Grippy's health and calling him by the name of his master. General Kosciusko suddenly sprang in among them, causing such commotion that had Satan himself appeared in their midst it could not have resulted in a greater stampede. Some of the party escaped by the door, but more of them jumped through the windows, falling to the ground heels over head. Grippy fell prostrate at the General's feet, crying, "Whip me, kill me, Massa; do anything with me, Mr. General." General Kosciusko, taking hold of his hand with great formality, said, "Rise, Prince, it is beneath the dignity of an African prince to prostrate himself at the feet of any one." He made him put on his cap of plumes (Grippy meanwhile pleading to be whipped or killed) and marched with him across the grounds to General Paterson's quarters at the base of the hill. The uniform attracted much attention, and to those they met the

1783 General introduced Grippy as an African prince, and some thought he was one in fact. They erected a temporary throne at General Paterson's quarters and placed Grippy upon it. After going through many mock ceremonies of presentation to royalty that afforded the throng a world of sport, they closed by smoking with him the calumet of peace. This was equal to crucifixion to Grippy, and was rare sport to the large military party that had assembled. He never forgot it, and was careful after that never to assume any false position. When he was an old man he delighted in telling this story himself. After the war, when Kosciusko was about to return to Poland, as Grippy had become very useful to him and almost necessary to his comfort he was desirous that he should go with him, and he agreed to do so, not wishing to refuse his master, to whom he had become very much attached; but the night before they were to embark Grippy ran away to avoid sailing, and returned afterward to General Paterson's service, who later gave him his freedom. He was an apt representative of the African race, intelligent and witty, and a great favorite with all the officers of the army who knew him. When Kosciusko returned to the United States Grippy was taken to New York to see his old master, and was very cordially received by him. General Lafayette knew Grippy in the army, and on his second visit to this country the Sedgwick of Stockbridge took Grippy to New York to meet him. As long as he lived the children and grandchildren of the officers he had known went frequently to Stockbridge to see him. He was never tired of telling them stories of the Revolution. He would hold the little children on his knees, while the older ones gathered round him. As he grew old he lived the war over again with the children, and would patiently repeat story after story, or repeat the same story over and over again if they wished it. Grippy lived and died at Stockbridge, Mass., where he owned a small farm, and was for many years a prominent person in all great festivals and notable assemblages.

In 1783, before the army was disbanded, and after the



GEN. PATERSON'S HOUSE IN LENOX, MASS.
BUILT IN 1783, AS IT WAS IN 1882

peace had been signed, and while the officers were still at their cantonments, General Knox drew up a plan of organization of a society of the officers. One officer from each regiment met at the headquarters of Baron Steuben on the east bank of the Hudson, and organized the Society of the Cincinnati. In its original organization, and as long as he lived, General Paterson took the liveliest interest. The meeting for that purpose was held in a large square room in the Verplanck House, the headquarters of Baron Steuben, while the American army was encamped in the vicinity of Newburg, situated two miles northeast of Fishkill Landing, New York. The following is part of the record of the proceedings at the final meeting of the convention :

“CANTONMENT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY,

“January 19, 1783.

“At a meeting of the general officers and the gentlemen delegates by the respective regiments as a convention for establishing the Society of the Cincinnati, held by request of the President, at which were present Major-General Baron Steuben, President, Major-General Howe, Major-General Knox, Brigadier-General Paterson, Brigadier-General Hand, . . . Baron Steuben acquainted the Convention that he had, agreeably to their requests at the last meeting, transmitted to His Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Member Plenipotentiary from the Court of France, a copy of the constitution of the Society of the Cincinnati.”

One article of the society was as follows: “The officers of the American army, having been taken generally from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, and being resolved to follow his example by returning to their citizenship, they think they may well denominate themselves the Society of the Cincinnati.” General Paterson’s name stands eleventh on the list after that of Washington, and third of the brigadier-generals. When the Massachusetts society was formed, on the 19th of June, 1783, General Paterson presided. He served it again as vice-president in 1785 and 1786.

On his retirement from the army he returned to Lenox and built the house which is now owned by his great-grandson,

1784 Thomas Egleston, of New York. He at once became actively interested in promoting the welfare of the town. He resumed the practice of his profession as a lawyer, which, as the courts had been closed since the king's judges were prevented from holding their court in Great Barrington, became very large. On the 15th of March, and again, on September 27, 1784, he was chosen moderator of the town meeting. On March 15th he was appointed to ascertain the boundaries of the highways.

Peace being now fully restored, the citizens of Lenox who had survived the war returned to their usual occupations. Having no longer, as a town, use for the powder house, they took it down and converted the materials of which it was built into a receiving vault in the village cemetery. Shortly after the resumption of the occupations of peace the question which town should be the county seat began to be of great interest to the citizens of Berkshire County. Each one of the middle tier of towns was persuaded that it was the proper place. The contest gradually narrowed itself down to Pittsfield, Lenox, and Stockbridge. General Paterson and Major Egleston were among the strongest advocates for Lenox. They went further than the mere question of advantages. They circulated a subscription list for the erection of the county buildings. This list was headed by General Paterson, who was always interested in every public movement, with eighty pounds sterling, the largest sum that was subscribed, and a very large amount for those days, and followed with a smaller sum, but still a very large one for those days, from Major Egleston.* When the requisite amount was nearly raised by subscription the papers, with a petition, were sent to Boston. It was then put to a popular vote, the result being that the citizens of Berkshire County, by majority vote, petitioned the legislature to have Stockbridge and not Lenox made the county town. The legislature, however, determined that it should be Lenox, and made it so. On September 27th, at a town meeting of which he was made moderator, General Paterson was chosen delegate from the town to a county convention to be held the

* See Appendix C.

next day "to prevent if possible the court-house and jails 1784-1785 being built in any other town in the County but Lenox, as 'tis fixed here by law." In May, 1787, the Court of General Sessions appointed Major Egleston, of Lenox, Theodore Sedgwick and John Bacon, of Stockbridge, to determine a site for the county buildings, which were commenced in 1788. The jail was finished in 1790, on the hill on the old Stockbridge road, half a mile south of the village. It burned down in 1812, when the legislature was memorialized to change the county seat to Pittsfield. The contest was between the northern tier of towns, who wanted Pittsfield, and the southern tier, who insisted upon Lenox being retained. Notwithstanding, when put to vote by towns it was decided in favor of Lenox; but this contest in regard to the removal of the county buildings from Lenox was constantly renewed, and after eighty-one years (in 1860) was successful, when they were removed to Pittsfield.

The first court-house was completed in 1791 or 1792. It was a wooden building. It is still standing in excellent preservation. The present court-house, now no longer used for that purpose, was built in 1815. The original court-house is now occupied by the post-office, the town-hall, and stores.

On the 7th of March, 1785, he was appointed as a select-man, assessor, and verifier of the fences of the town, and was sworn in. On March 28th he "was chosen one of the school committee, to provide schoolmasters and to see the said money (£150) applied for the purpose aforesaid, in the district in which they respectively reside." On April 4th he was made a committee to provide a suitable place for the town stock of ammunition. On May 9th he was chosen "to represent this town at the Great and General Court of the Commonwealth for the ensuing year."

He was interested, as before the war, in all public matters, as is shown by the two extracts given below. Remembering the danger which he had been exposed to in Canada and Ticonderoga from small-pox and the sufferings of his soldiers, he was in sympathy with those who had tried to avoid it al-

1785 though they had used unlawful means, and it is not surprising to find him joining in the petition given below :

"July 1st 1785.

"To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"The Subscribers Inhabitants of the County of Berkshire, Representatives in the Genl Court humbly shew, that during the last Fall & Winter the small Pox was communicated repeatedly from the State of New York to divers Inhabitants of the said County, that many Persons dreading the malignant effects of that Disorder when raging in the natural way, endeavored to avoid the Evil by Inoculation that by means thereof the danger was increased (the Business of Inoculation being conducted by no System) and the Persons Receiving the Infection increased in proportion, that the danger was so imminent that it was impossible to wait to pursue the course pointed out by Law. That great distress must be the result of a vigorous exaction of the Penalty incurred on the Occasion, that although in some instances there was probably imprudence and in others the disorder was communicated when there was not an absolute necessity therefor, yet it will be extreamly difficult if not absolutely impossible to discriminate. Wherefore your Petitioners humbly Pray your Honors that the Persons above described who have incurred the penalty by Law, provided against receiving or communicating the small Pox by Inoculation from the first Day of November 1784 untill the first Day of June last past may be indemnified therefor and duty bound shall ever Pray.

"ERASTUS SARGENT	JAMES BARKER
"JOHN PATERSON	JOHN ASHLEY
"NATH BISHOP	WM BRUNSON
"DANIEL TAYLOR	EBENR PEIRCE
"CHARLES GOODRICH	EBENEZER JENKINS
	IRAEL JONES." *

"Common Wealth of Massachusetts, House of Representatives June ye 24th 1785.

"On the Petition of Erastus Sergeant, John Paterson and others, Representatives from the several Towns in the County of Berkshire, setting forth that a number of the Inhabitants in the several Towns in said County had Inoculated themselves and familys for the small Pox for fear of (A) *the Danger of* receiving that Infectious disease in the Natural way from some person that brought the same into the several towns in sd County. And the Above Inhabitants receiving the small Pox by Inoculation being Contrary to Law have rendered themselves liable to fines and penalties without some Relief from the Court, therefor

* Massachusetts Resolves, chap. ci.

"Resolved that all and Every person being Inhabitants of Either of the 1785
Towns in the County of Berkshire that have Received the small Pox,
either in the Natural way or by Inoculation in any of the Towns afore-
said, at any time between the first day of November A D 1784 and the (B)
first day of June 1785 be and they are hereby Remitted and discharged
from all penalties incur'd by breach of any of the Laws of this Common-
wealth for preventing the Spreading of the small Pox, any Law or Re-
solve to the Contrary notwithstanding.

"Provided, nevertheless that all and Every of the above described In-
habitants against whom any Actions or presentments shall have taken
place, before the passing of this Resolve are and they shall be holden to
the payment of all Legal Charges that may have arisen in Consequence
of said Actions or presentments, anything in this Resolve to the Contrary
notwithstanding

sent up for concurrence

NATH GORHAM *Spkr*

In Senate June 29, 1785. Read & concurred with
amendments at A & B
at A dele "the danger of"
at B dele "first" & insert Tenth

Sent down for concurrence

SAML PHILLIPS *junr Presid*

In the House of Representatives July 1, 1785
Read & concurred

NATH GORHAM *Speaker*

Approved

JAMES BOWDOIN."

While a representative from Lenox to the General Court for
the terms of 1785-86, General Paterson presented the following
petition. It is difficult now to realize that the conditions which
caused the petition could have existed at so late a period in
Massachusetts.

*"To the honorable the Senate & the House of Representatives in General
Court assembled **

"Novr 1785

"Humbly shew the subscribers, in behalf and at the request of the
Representatives of the Counties to which we respectively belong, that
such of late hath been the destruction of young cattle, and sheep by
wolves, in the extreme parts of the Commonwealth, as to threaten the
total extirpation of those useful and profitable animals unless some
methods are speedily adopted, to prevent this evil; they therefore hum-

* Massachusetts Senate Documents, No. 607.

1785 bly pray your Honors to take the matter into consideration and grant relief by the offer of additional bounties, to persons destroying wolves, or in such other way as your Honors in your wisdom shall deem proper.

“And as in duty bound shall ever pray

PLINY MERRICK	}	For Hampshire
JOHN WILLIAMS		
JUSTIN ELY		
JOHN PATERSON		For Berkshire
MOSES AMES		For York
ISAAC PARSONS	}	For Cumberland
SAM ^L MERRILL		
BENJAMIN DUNING		
WILLIAM JONES	}	For Lincoln
JOHN STINSON		

In Senate, Nover 26 1785 Read and committed to Peter Coffin Esqr with such as the Honble house shall join

Sent down for concurrence

SAM^L PHILLIPS *jnr* President

In the House of Representatives, Nov^r 30, 1785

Read & concurred & Mr Fessenden & Mr Davis of Charlton are joined

NATH GORHAM *Speaker*.”

On December 1, 1785, General Paterson was appointed major-general of the 9th division of the State by the State of Massachusetts. On June 7, 1786, the governor reported that he had issued commissions to the generals appointed.* The commission of General Paterson is given below:

“Commonwealth of Massachusetts

“By his Excellency James Bowdoin Esqr Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

“To the honorable John Patterson Esq Greeting

“You being appointed a major General of the militia within this Commonwealth, but more especially within the County of Berkshire which forms the ninth of the nine divisions of the said militia

“By virtue of the power vested in me I do by these Presents (reposing special trust & confidence in your loyalty, courage & good conduct) commission you accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Major General in leading ordering & exercising the said militia in arms both inferior officers and Soldiers; and keeping them in good order & discipline. And they are hereby commanded to

* See Appendix E.

obey you as Major General: and you are yourself to observe & follow 1786
such orders & instructions as you shall from time to time receive from
your Superior officer.

"Given under my hand & the Seal of the said Commonwealth the third
day of April in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & eighty
six & in the tenth year of the Independence of the United States of
America.

(LS)

"JAMES BOWDOIN *

"By his excellency's command

"JOHN AVERY, *junr Secry.*"

On May 2, 1786, he was made moderator of the town meet-
ing at Lenox, and he was again chosen selectman and assessor.
He declined to serve as selectman, but was sworn in as assessor.
He was voted on the same date £10 10s. for his services as
representative at the General Court in 1774, and £3 10s. for
his services as selectman, with interest to date.

In March, 1786, General Paterson became interested in the
purchase of lands in the State of Maine. On the 28th of
October, 1783, the General Court of the Commonwealth of
Massachusetts, resolved that the unappropriated lands in Lin-
coln County in Maine, which is the most northeasterly county
of that State on the ocean, should be sold, and in March of
the year 1786 General Paterson, with seven other persons,
agreed to purchase, for the sum of three thousand six hundred
and two pounds and eight shillings in specie securities of the
United States, 19,392 acres of land, on condition that two
hundred acres near the center of the town should remain at
the disposition of the government, and that two hundred acres
near the center of the town should be appropriated for the use
of the ministry, two hundred acres for the use of the first set-
tled minister, and two hundred and eighty acres for the use of
a grammar school, and upon the further condition that they
should quiet the claims of the settlers in that district who had
made improvements prior to January, 1784, and were now
there, and also of such settlers as had purchased the improve-
ments of any previous settlers who had sold and had left, by
granting to each of them, their heirs and assigns, one hundred

* Massachusetts Book of Commissions, p. 161.

1786 acres of land, to be so selected as to best include their improvements, and also on condition that they should cause to be settled in this township five families annually for the next six succeeding years. It does not appear from the records that this purchase was ever completed, or, if it was, what was done with the land, but it is interesting as showing the condition of the State of Maine at that time. The document in full is given below.

“Know All men by these Presents

“That we whose names are undersigned & Seals affixed appointed a Commitee by a resolve of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts passed the 28th day of October A.D. 1783 on the Subject of unappropriated Lands in the County of Lincoln and by that and other resolves of the said Court empowered to sell & convey the unappropriated Lands of the Commonwealth In the said County, for, and In consideration of the sum of Three Thousand six Hundred & two Pounds Eight shillings in the specie Securities of the United States of America drawing interest to us paid by John Patterson Esqr of Lenox & Thompson Joseph Skinner Esqr of Williamstown both in the County of Berkshire Joseph Blake of Milton in the County of Suffolk Merchant Phinehas Upham Esqr & James Upham Merchant both of Brookfield & John Ball of Northborough In the County of Worcester & John Duballet of Boston In the County of Suffolk Merchant & all of the Commonwealth aforesaid We have Given Granted bargained Sold & conveyed and by these Presents In behalf of the said Commonwealth do give Grant bargain Sell & convey unto the said John Patterson, Thompson J. Skinner, Joseph Blake, Phinehas Upham, James Upham, John Ball & John Duballet, Their Heirs & Assigns one Township of Land Lying in the County of Lincoln aforesaid Vizt No Five containing Nineteen Thousand Three hundred & Ninety two Acres & is bounded as follows, beginning at a Spruce Tree marked thus 1784, with a heap of Stones by it, Standing on the west Shore of Schoodick Bay, alias Passamaquady Bay, & is the North East Corner of No Four Township from thence Running South Seventy degrees West Five Miles two hundred & seventy one rods to a Cedar stump & stones being a corner of Four Townships & is a five Rods sht of a burnt Swamp on the North side of a hill Then North twenty degrees West five Miles one Hundred & Four Rods to a Stake & a heap of Stones on the Southerly side of Schoodick River & to continue the same Course into the middle of sd River then down the midle of Schoodick River to the bay aforesaid opposit the Devils Head so called) then Southerly by the West Shore of sd Bay to the bounds first mentioned To the sd Grantees in the following proportions Vizt (to John Patterson seven sixteenths to Thompson J Skinner one eighth to

Joseph Blake one Eighth to Phinehas Upham one Eighth to James Upham, one sixteenth to John Ball, one sixteenth to John Duballet one sixteenth, of the foregoing describ'd Township to be held by them in Severalty 1786

"Reserving however for the future disposition of Government two hundred Acres near the Center of sd Town and upon Conditions that the said John, Thompson J, Joseph, Phinehas, James John & John shall appropriate near the Center of said Town two hundred Acres for the use of the Ministry, Two hundred Acres for the use of the first settled Minister & two hundred & Eighty Acres for the use of a Grammar School, & upon this further Condition that the said John, Thompson J. Joseph Phinehas James John & John Shall quiet the Settlers Who made distinct Improvement prior to the first day of January 1784 and now Remain on such Settlements, also Such Settlers who have purchased the Improvements of any such Settlers whose Settlement was made before the first of January aforesaid & who has sold & Left such Possessions by Granting to each of them their heirs & Assigns one Hundred Acres of Land to be laid out so as best to Include their Improvement thereon & that the sd John, Thompson J, Joseph, Phinehas, James, John & John shall settle or cause to be settled on the sd Township No 5 five families annually for the next Six succeeding years to have & to hold the sd Granted Premises to the sd John Patterson, Thompson J Skinner Joseph Blake Phinehas Upham, James Upham John Ball & John Duballet their Heirs & Assigns to their proper use & behoof for ever & that the sd Committee in behalf of the sd Commonwealth Covenant & agree with the sd John Patterson Thompson J. Skinner Joseph Blake, Phinehas Upham, James Upham, John Ball & John Duballet that the sd Common wealth shall warrant the same Granted Premises to them their Heirs & Assigns saving as aforesaid against the Lawfull claims of All persons

"In Witness whereof the Committee have hereunto sett their hands & Seals this day of March 1786

"Signed Sealed & delivered
in Presence of us" *

Governor Bowdoin called a convention at Falmouth, now Portland, on October 5, 1785, to discuss the propriety of having a separate government for the State of Maine. This caused a great deal of discontent, and probably had something to do with the Shays' Rebellion which followed so soon, as it caused the formation of a party against "the evil tendency toward dismembering the Commonwealth." Maine did not

* Massachusetts Miscellaneous Papers.

1786 become an independent State until 1820. It became the property of Massachusetts by purchase.

The history of this transaction is interesting as it shows by what an uncertain tenure the colonists held their first charter, as well as their determination to defend it at any cost. There was at the court of Charles II. of England a gentleman, Sir Fernando Gorges, who was a soldier of fortune. He was possessed with the idea that he ought to be a ruler of some part of the world and live in state. He had at times influence with the court, and when attention was called to the particularly favorable charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, he became possessed with the idea that in some way this charter stood between him and his ambitions and hoped-for greatness. He therefore, on December 19, 1632, made a vigorous attack on it, the result of which was that the matter of the charter was referred to a committee of twelve Lords of the Council for investigation and report. They reported that there was no cause why the charter should be interfered with. This did not satisfy Sir Fernando, so in February, 1634, he renewed the attack, in the hope of having it vacated and of going out to New England as governor-general with royal authority, to assume the whole government and reign there in state like a prince. The result was a demand for the surrender of the charter; which demand could not be complied with, as the charter had been taken out to America. When this news reached the colony the clergy were asked, "What ought we to do if a governor-general should be sent out of England?" The quick and decisive answer came: "We ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions." It was the same kind of spirit which, when their rights were actually trampled on a century and a half later, made the Revolutionary War. They were blind to all this in England; but as the order could not then be obeyed, it lay on the table of the Lords in Council and was forgotten. If they had sent out a governor-general at that time he would have been resisted with all the force the colonies could command. The matter was called up, however, in 1635, with the result of declaring the charter void *ab*

initio. It, however, resulted in nothing; the king was too 1786 busy and Gorges too poor to take advantage of it, and the charter of the colony was not surrendered. In June, 1635, the Council for New England, which held all the country between the 40th and the 48th parallels of latitude, from ocean to ocean, surrendered its charter to the king. The king then announced his intention of making Sir Fernando Gorges his governor-general; but as matters did not progress rapidly enough, if they did progress at all, on April 3, 1639, Sir Fernando secured a patent by which he and his heirs were created Lords Proprietors of the province or county of Maine, with the title of Lord Paramount of Maine. This seemed to satisfy his ambition for the time. He at once created a complicated paper government, and sent out in 1640 his governor with the charter, expecting as soon as his government was established to go in state himself. His first and second governors, however, would not remain; he could get neither emigrants nor credit. His ambitious projects were never realized. Misfortune seemed to follow his schemes from the beginning. When he died he left his claim and his title to his heirs. As there was no question as to the validity of his claim, his heirs succeeded to it, but were never able to make anything out of it, and finally, on May 13, 1677-8, his grandson sold the deed to the Massachusetts Bay Company for £1250, and the colony of Massachusetts Bay thus became the Lord Paramount of Maine.

CHAPTER VIII.

SHAYS' REBELLION.

1786 GENERAL PATERSON'S military services did not end with the Revolution. Before the close of the war the discontent which had showed itself among the soldiers, and which had to be put down with such an iron hand, spread itself among the people of Massachusetts and led them to acts of open rebellion in that and the adjoining States, under the leadership of Daniel Shays. They were sympathized with at first by many of the best citizens of the State and by the people of nearly all the neighboring States, and although it does not appear that they received aid from any of them, this sympathy had a great deal to do with the prolongation of the resistance of the rebels, who were everywhere defeated during many months.

At the request of the Governor of Massachusetts, General Paterson commanded the Berkshire militia in the suppression of this rebellion.

He selected as his staff the gentlemen whose names are given below, who served with him during the rebellion :

Theodore Sedgwick,	Aide-de-camp.
Joshua Danforth,	Aide-de-camp.
Simeon Learned,	Aide-de-camp.
Erastus Sargeant,	Surgeon-General.
Ebenezer Williams,	Deputy-Adjutant-General.
Azariah Eggleston,	Deputy-Quartermaster-General.

The political agitation which led to Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts began very soon after the close of the Revolution, and for a time threatened not only the entire subversion of law and order in the State, but also the aban-

donment of some of the great principles which had been re- 1786
garded as settled by the Revolutionary War. Its complete
suppression, however, by the energetic action of the author-
ities of the State and the support of these principles by a
very large majority of the people was fortunate, as it called
the attention of the prominent men of every State in the
Union to difficulties whose solution caused a careful study of
the conditions which rendered the rebellion possible, and un-
doubtedly hastened not only the acceptance of the Constitu-
tion under which we are now living, but also its very careful
revision so as to make such occurrences unlikely in the
future.

Some of the people, exasperated by a condition of things
which could hardly have been avoided, lost their judgment,
excited their own passions and those of the multitude by pub-
lic addresses, and sought redress in riot and murder, as if
that would right their wrongs. The people of the common-
wealth were groaning under burdens and evils of which they
imperfectly comprehended the causes and still more imper-
fectly the remedy. They had some real and more fancied
grievances. They had been in a constant state of agitation
since the accession of George III. They had now been under
arms since 1774. They had been without courts since 1780,
and most of the time at war. War and its consequences had
become familiar to them, and its rapid methods of justice sat-
isfied them. The State constitution was new, and the Federal
not yet adopted. They had not yet learned by experience
that under a constitutional government every evil can be re-
moved without resort to arms by patient and peaceable agi-
tation.

The principal causes of discontent during Shays' Rebellion
were the universal indebtedness, the difficulty of collecting
either principal or interest, the injustice of the law against
debtors, the abuse of the debtors' prison, and the scarcity of
money. There was no law for the just distribution of the
property of the debtor among his creditors. Executions on
property were satisfied in their chronological order until the

1786 estate was exhausted. The least suspicion of financial unsoundness was followed by attachments. He who came first got the most; those who came last got nothing. The result was great injustice to both debtor and creditor. The efforts of creditors to collect what was due them were resisted. The decisions of the courts against the debtor were regarded as the cause of the distress, since they gave the creditor legal power against the debtor. Gold and silver had for a long time ceased to be a circulating medium, and were rarely seen. The currency of the country was a mere promise to pay based upon nothing, and had become completely valueless. How far values had fluctuated is shown by the fact that the allowance of twopence a head for killing old blackbirds had become in May, 1780, thirty shillings; that labor on the highways, which had previously been paid at three shillings a day, had become seven pounds. A dollar in silver, for the collection of taxes, was worth one hundred and twenty in Continental currency. The people were really poor. Those who could had borrowed money at exorbitant rates of interest to pay taxes, and now no ready money could be had. The burden fell heavily both on the State and the people. The State could not relax the taxes; the people could not pay them. Both the law and the customs relating to the collection of debts had been harsh and unjust, and when the war was over there arose a fashion about them which made them unbearable. The people knew that they were carrying heavy burdens, and they could find neither the cause nor the remedy. They had fought for eight years to get redress from oppressions much more easily borne, and which in comparison to those they were now bearing seemed trifling. It appeared to some as if the whole war had been fought only to settle a theoretical principle, and many of them, if it would have brought redress, would have willingly gone back to "the king and all the royal family." The State was as badly off as the citizen. He saw no way out of the situation, for his quota of the national, State, county, and town debt was all incurred in the defense of his liberty and was binding upon him. Besides his obligations to the State

he had his own private indebtedness. The principal was piling up, and in addition the interest on the portion not paid was accumulating, as he could pay neither the one nor the other. 1786

The whole of the State debt previous to the war was not quite £100,000. When it closed the State debt was £1,300,000. In 1784 the State of Massachusetts imposed a tax of £140,000. In 1786, when it became necessary to fund the army debt, it was increased by a still further imposition of £110,000. The State's proportion of the national debt was £1,500,000 in addition. During all the time that this debt had been accumulating the soldiers had been fighting for the great principles on which, since then, the laws relating to the liberties of nations have been founded, but the people had learned nothing of finance except as the leaders were obliged to supply the daily needs of the army. The impulse given to manufacturers by the artificial stimulus of the war ceased when it was over, and they were depressed. Farming yielded but a scanty subsistence, and the houses, farms, and manufactories were in many cases hopelessly mortgaged; and in the ruin which seemed to stare every one in the face moral as well as pecuniary obligations seemed to lose their force. The soldiers, accustomed to the shiftless habits and excitement of camp life, could not accustom themselves to the routine of every-day duties at home. They had been fighting against the unlawful imposition of taxes. They were more oppressed now by the lawful imposition of them, than they ever had been by those which the king had proposed to impose. The people at large were quiet and patient. Some individuals who had sacrificed little and had grown rich by speculation, and were ostentatious in their display of it, created ill-feeling and kept up a constant irritation by flaunting their wealth in the face of their countrymen who had sacrificed greatly and now felt keenly the sharp pinch of poverty. Among the turbulent and unprincipled the cry was, "Down with the courts of law! prevent the judges from acting, and hang the lawyers!" The people were irritated by the fact that some of the extreme conservative leaders had expressed in an exasperating way

1786 a contempt for the common people which made them feel that there was a privileged class which might become an aristocracy.

The constitution of the State which had been adopted in 1780 neither abrogated nor alleviated the debtor laws, and it seemed as if, from the situation, their execution had become more cruel than before; for the sacrifices which had been made by the soldiers were great, and they were the ones who were called upon most frequently to suffer on account of their inability to settle their accounts. The interest which they were obliged either to pay or to add to the principal consumed their resources without lessening their burdens. Bail was available for the criminal, but not for the debtor; and many a man who had fought bravely during the war came from the privations of camp life, where at least he had some liberty, only to find himself in prison behind a door which could be opened by money alone, which from no fault of his he did not have and could not get. All of the misfortunes which he suffered were attributed to the government. The people saw themselves at the mercy of either the tax-gatherer or the sheriff and the jailer, and if they were so fortunate as to escape these, they had scarcely enough to keep themselves alive, with no other hope but the poorhouse as a refuge in their old age.

Leaders of the discontented were not wanting, either then or now. Some of these were undoubtedly sincere in their motives; some of them were mere demagogues, and many of them hoped either for notoriety or gain. In the beginning they honestly demanded what they thought would bring relief at once. They wanted the Great and General Court removed from Boston, where they supposed it to be under the influence of that city. They wished all public securities, as well as all money in hand and at interest, to be taxed to produce a revenue. They demanded the reduction of all salaries. They claimed that land ought to be made a legal tender for debts, and that its price should be taken as it stood when the debt was incurred. They wished a check put on the growing

power of lawyers. What the debtors wanted, and they were 1786
by far the largest part of the community, was in some way to
be relieved, either by a partial or total extinguishment of their
indebtedness or plenty of time to pay it. Hence every law,
and every officer of the law whose business it was to collect
debts, was odious to them. Had it not been for the efforts of
moderate and sensible men holding high positions in different
parts of the State, who were determined to uphold the legally
constituted authorities and to obtain redress only by legal
methods, and who yet had so much sympathy with those who
wished to get relief by violent measures that they would coun-
sel and advise them before they committed acts of violence, and
when they had committed violent or unlawful acts would deal
as gently as was possible under the circumstances, there would
have been much more bloodshed added to the acts of violence
and rebellion. As it was, considering how many men who had
been in the War of the Revolution were among the rioters, it
is surprising that so few were killed. Prominent among the
men who advised the use of legal means before the breaking
out of the rebellion, and who entered the military service of the
State at once to help to put it down, was Major-General John
Paterson, who was as active before and after the rebellion as a
peacemaker as he had been as a soldier during its continu-
ance. It is surprising, notwithstanding the acts of violence
and bloodshed which were committed by the rioters, that dur-
ing the whole of the rebellion not only individuals, but the
General Court itself showed and expressed their sympathy for
the rioters. The sessions of the General Court were prolonged,
other business was put aside, members listened patiently to
and voted for measures for relieving, as far as they could, the
distress which caused the riots, and resolutions of sympathy
and amnesty for those misguided citizens who had implicated
themselves in the riots were everywhere passed. The rioters
were treated more like misbehaving children than offenders
against the law, and hence the continued offers of amnesty
made to them, and the constant appeals made by their friends
and neighbors who did not agree with them, not only for clem-

1786 eney, but for freedom from punishment, until it became evident toward the close of the rebellion that such offers were misguided so far as the leaders were concerned. Hundreds of citizens who, after they had committed violence, saw how useless and wrong this method of procedure was, accepted the amnesty and became good citizens, some of them becoming toward the close of the rebellion very efficient in helping to put it down.

There arose before the close of the war a party who publicly advocated the idea that the courts ought to be abolished. They were, they contended, only a rich man's remedy. They asserted that when they were abolished there could be no judgments, and that the result of such measures would be general prosperity. They stated that the only result of their shedding their blood in the Revolution had been to be imprisoned by the tax-gatherer at home, and to give to their creditors, who in many cases had never been in the war and sacrificed little or nothing for the country, the right to drag them from their homes to the court and from the court to the prison. Then they called county conventions based on an article of the Bill of Rights, which provides "that the people have a right in an orderly and peaceable manner to assemble to consult upon the common good, give instructions to their representatives, and to request of the legislative body, by way of addresses, provisions, and remonstrances, relief of the wrongs done them and of the grievances they suffer." This clause was undoubtedly intended to apply to town meetings, but it was made to serve as authority for less regular assemblies. The business of such conventions was to present grievances; and a great grievance was the commutation of the pay of the officers who had served during the Revolutionary War. A convention was called both in Suffolk and in Worcester counties in 1784, in which they not only condemned the acts of Congress, but voted that the sessions of the courts were grievances, and attempted to make an opposition legislature. As the multitude of civil suits* had increased the number of lawyers, they

* In 1784 there were more than two thousand actions, and in 1785 about seventeen hundred, in the county of Worcester alone.

asserted that this class of men ought to be abolished, and the people were urged not to elect them for public offices, as they brought the suits and were therefore the authors of their misfortunes. They so influenced the people that in 1786 the lawyers were to a large extent excluded from the legislature, and the House passed a law to admit all persons of good moral character to the practice of the law before the judicial courts, and fixing their fees. 1786

In order to prevent the session of the court in Northampton, Samuel Ely, a minister who had been dismissed by a council on account of his moral and literary disqualifications for that office, had in April, 1782, incited a riot, the leaders of which were arrested. Ely was indicted and was condemned by the court of Northampton, and was released from prison in Springfield by the mob. The leaders were arrested and confined, and a similar attempt was made to release them, which might have resulted in much bloodshed but for the superior force which was called out against them.

This riot was taken by the General Court at its next session as an evidence that the people were in real distress, and in November, considering that the leaders had been sufficiently punished, they pardoned them all. The pardon was considered as a justification of their course by the rebels; so in May, 1783, they attempted to prevent the sessions of the courts in Springfield, but were not successful. A convention more peaceable in character was held at Deerfield on September 29, 1783, and they wanted for relief the division of the county or the removal of the courts to Springfield. The private debtor had been considered as an oppressor, and they commenced to ask themselves in what way the public and the private debts differed. If the private debt was a burden, was the public debt any less a hardship? They found that there was little difference in the moral obligation in either case. In a convention held at Hatfield on October 20th they declared that they could not pay private debts while public ones were so heavy, and with surprising unanimity they attacked the officers of the Revolutionary War—the very class which one would nat-

1786 urally have thought would have been the last. During the dark periods of the war Congress had promised half pay for life to those officers who would continue in the service. On March 22, 1782, it proposed to commute this half pay for life to full pay for five years, which was a very reasonable and just commutation of the half pay. In the minds of the people this payment created a privileged class who were better off than themselves, but who in their opinion deserved no more from the country than they did. Their resentment, therefore, fell on the very men to whom they should have been most grateful. To these, the salaried officers of the government and the lawyers, who were making a rich harvest in the courts, were added as among the privileged class, and they looked upon them all as assisting a condition of things which they considered unworthy of a free government.

The agitation which resulted, and the interest on the public debt, which from commutation of the officers' pay amounted to five millions of dollars, made the government securities fall to such a point that the notes given by the government in commutation of the life pay were not sufficient to cover the time of actual service. This aroused so much sympathy for the officers that the hostility was now transferred toward the banker or speculator who bought the notes, and it was gravely proposed to Congress to pay to the holder of a note becoming due, when not the person to whom it was issued, not the face value, but only what he had paid for it, and to give the balance to the original holder of the note. No action was taken by the legislature on such a preposterous proposition; but that it should have been presented at all showed the disturbed and distressed state of the public mind. They then requested the issue of paper money in large quantities without security, to be depreciated by law at a fixed rate, until, after a given period, it should be rendered entirely valueless. So wild a proposition failed in Congress, but it had many advocates.

There had been no provision for the amendment of the State Constitution until 1795, and the dissatisfied taught the people that that was too long to wait; that they had gone to war with

Great Britain for a less cause, and that now, as then, there was no redress except by revolution. They might easily have effected a change by a convention called by the people, but this was not what the leaders wanted. There were real grievances which could have been redressed, but the leaders wanted the abolition of the courts and reforms to be made without legal methods being used. They began by counseling violence, and then by the use of mob law. The dissatisfied began to call meetings in the towns to discuss their grievances; then more frequent conventions for the ostensible purpose of trying to find relief for their difficulties. These were at first quiet and lawful assemblies, but the constant reiteration of real or fancied wrongs made them at last violent. They ridiculed or denounced the officers of the law, and tried to make the government contemptible in the eyes of the people, and from this to open violence was but a short step.

The farmers thought trade should bear all the burdens of taxation, and that the land, which was almost the only producer, should be freed from taxes. The home-traders, as the medium of exchange between the farmer and the public, were sure that they should be relieved and the burden of the taxes be thrown upon some one else. Commerce to the farmer meant the importation of luxuries, for the idea was prominent then that the land should produce all that was needed for life and happiness, and what was not derived directly from it was not necessary, and therefore a luxury. During the war the fisheries, which previous to the war had brought in £167,000 annually, and which in the island of Nantucket alone employed one hundred and fifty vessels and twenty-five hundred men, had been neglected. At the time peace was declared the entire fleet consisted of only nineteen vessels. The farms could produce but little, as the men were in the army, and the women and children could not till the land on any large scale. The markets were to a great extent lost and must be regained; but the farmers saw only the absence of the market, and attributed all the evils to the luxury induced by the importation of foreign materials, which resulted in draining

1786 from the country the resources which might be used at home. By the law of July 3, 1782, known as the "Tender Act," private debts had the precedence over public ones, and were made payable in cattle or produce; the appraisement was to be made by impartial judges under oath. It was so drawn as to suspend suits for a period of twelve months. The idea of the originators was that it would prevent law-suits by making it possible to settle obligations in kind within a specified time, but its effect was to stimulate the antagonism between creditor and debtor and to stir up a strife between the rich and the poor.

Following the precedent set at Great Barrington in 1774, the dissatisfied commenced by impeding the administration of justice by preventing the assembling of the courts, on the ground that all their grievances and hardships arose from the decisions of these courts, and that they were justified in acting as they did by the example of their countrymen of years ago. But the successful obstruction of the courts in 1774 was not done until after repeated remonstrances had been made and every plan known for obtaining redress from the king and the royal governors had been tried; while these men obstructed the courts before any means of redressing their grievances, which were perfectly open to them and would have succeeded if properly begun, had been tried.

In the elections for the State legislature for 1786 the distress was used for personal and political ends. Men of experience and of conservative principles were defeated. They were replaced by those who knew nothing about government. Lawyers were defeated only because they were lawyers, and for no other reason. When the legislature assembled propositions of the most visionary character were made. It was recommended, among other things, to issue irredeemable paper money and to do other equally absurd and dangerous things, but they were fortunately voted down, and the legislature adjourned on July 15th without adopting any remedy. None had been seriously considered. The next step of the leaders was the calling of conventions to discuss their grievances, and

then to publish them to the people and make them call for redress. They commenced by advising against all resort to force and unlawful measures. The conventions were at first reputable gatherings of respectable people. Their fulminations, however, influenced the prejudices and excited the passions of the dissatisfied, which was undoubtedly the effect which most of the leaders wished to produce. From respectable gatherings they came to be not only irregularly called meetings, but tumultuous and unlawful assemblies. They incited to the use of mob law, and, if they did not council violence, produced it. The conservative and respectable people became so compromised by the dissatisfied that the meetings of both together were converted into a mere mob, and they acted as such. This increased the evils instead of diminishing them. The first convention called represented thirty-seven towns of Worcester County. It met at Leicester on August 15, 1786. Its very first act was to declare itself a lawful and constitutional assemblage. Eight causes of grievance were enumerated, which included the courts, the officers of the State, and the payment of the public debt. The conservative journals generally exposed the fallacy of the grievances and the unprincipled character of the leaders, but this produced but little effect on the people.

On August 22, 1786, a convention of fifty towns of Hampshire County, which at that time included Franklin and Hampden counties, was called at Hatfield, and passed in three days nineteen resolutions against the Senate, the courts, and almost all the forms of law, but advised the people to abstain from acts of mob violence. They resolved to publish their proceedings in other counties, and called on them also to hold conventions. The paper-money men were there in full force. The men who "had fought for liberty and meant to have it" were also represented. Their definition of liberty was, as given by one of themselves, "for every man to do as he pleases, and to make others do as you please to have them." They advocated the abolition of the courts, and voted themselves "a constitutional meeting." They advised the other counties to organize, and finished these proceedings by resolving that the people

1786 ought to abstain from all mobs or other unlawful assemblies. It is fair to suppose that their proceedings had been dictated by a sincere desire to obtain by legal measures the redress they wanted, since some of those who attended and took part in the proceedings were members of the legislature and others were held in high respect by their fellow-townsmen ; but it is doubtful whether the majority did not mean open rebellion from the first, as all their proceedings were carried out in three days. This convention was held just before the sessions of the courts, and was intended to foster a feeling of contempt for them. When on the last Tuesday in August, four days after they adjourned, the courts were to sit in Northampton, fifteen hundred men—a motley array, some of them armed with sticks, clubs, bludgeons, and others with swords or muskets—assembled to prevent the session of the Court of Common Pleas. Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolutionary Army of doubtful reputation, headed the insurgents. A large body also collected at Springfield to prevent the session of the court there. They forced it to adjourn to Northampton until the second Tuesday in November, but it never met again until May, 1787, and the debt repudiators thus celebrated a great victory over the law. The governor on September 2d called on all good citizens to put down such treasonable proceedings. The newspapers, the clergy, and nearly all the best citizens sided with the governor, but it was of little use. As soon as these disturbances commenced the local militia had been called out by the sheriff to protect the courts ; but it was soon found that they could not be relied upon, as many of them sympathized with the rioters. The governor called the judges of the Supreme Court, the attorney-general, and others in council, and they determined to call out the State troops.

The excitement which was prevalent in Worcester and Hampshire counties, and which had also prevented the session of the courts there, spread very quickly to the other parts of the State. It went west to Berkshire and east to Middlesex and Bristol counties. The notice which had been taken of the convention in Hampshire and the notoriety produced for

its leaders emboldened them and encouraged their followers. 1786
While this was going on throughout the State a county convention was called to meet in Lenox during the last week of August. The people of Berkshire and the other counties of the State as well had always been used to open and free discussion. The town meeting had been their safety-valve, the county convention their strongest method of asserting their rights, and they had resisted from the very commencement any encroachment on them by the royal governors. When the Constitution of 1780 was proposed they discussed it, both before and after they adopted it, and in the six years since it had been in force had learned to have confidence both in the laws and the law-makers, since the law was dependent upon their own voices in the town meetings and their votes in elections. They had suffered too long from the use of violent means to willingly have recourse to them again, so that when the call came for a county convention they went to the polls almost to a man, and the majority of the towns elected as their representatives the moderate and conservative men. When the convention convened the malcontents were met by wise and able men, who were in the majority. They argued with the more impetuous on their own ground. They not only out-reasoned, but they out-voted them, so that this convention was not characterized by the violent and unreasonable acts which were so marked a feature of some of the others. They pledged themselves as a body in the most solemn manner to support the courts in the exercise of their legal powers and to endeavor to quiet the agitated spirits of the people. Among the most prominent of the conservatives in this convention was Major-General Paterson, who was then, as he always had been, one of the most strenuous in endeavoring to right wrongs by strictly legal methods. This convention undoubtedly prevented many dissatisfied persons in adjoining counties from joining the forces under the agitators, because it was made plain to them that their grievances could all be remedied by proper recourse to law, that the necessary legislation would take some time, and that the people had the power to act

1786 themselves through their properly constituted representatives.

On September 5th the judges at Worcester were prevented by three hundred armed men from holding court, which was to have been held in the court-house. A proclamation by the governor called on the people to sustain the courts. The chief-justice remonstrated with the rioters, but they forced the Court of Common Pleas to adjourn *sine die* and the Court of Sessions to adjourn to November 21st. The day after the convention at Hatfield a convention of representatives of a majority of the towns in Middlesex County was held, and adopted similar resolutions. The next attempt to prevent the sitting of the courts was at Concord on September 12th. The citizens on September 9th had protested against such disorderly proceedings, and the militia were called out by the governor on September 8th to defend the courts in Middlesex and Bristol; but on the representation of the people that they were not needed, the judges, fearing a popular attack, countermanded the order for the assembling of the militia for the protection of the courts, as the citizens agreed to protect them. The rioters, who were few in number, were so emboldened by this order that they surrounded and took possession of the court-house in Concord and threatened to kill all persons who did not join them. They were violent in their abuse of the courts and the judges, and allowed the court to sit only on the condition of its adjourning to a fixed date. The court left the town the same afternoon, and the rioters dispersed.

In Taunton, in the County of Bristol, the court was to assemble on the 12th. The chief-justice, General Cobb, had been a military officer of distinction during the Revolution, and was then a major-general of the State. He took possession of the court-house with a field-piece and thirty gentlemen volunteers. When the insurgents came up he told them that he would "sit as a judge or die as a general." Knowing that he would do as he said, they dispersed without preventing the session of the court; but in view of the great agitation it was deemed advisable to adjourn, and the court did so.

The resolutions of the Lenox convention so recently passed

did not restrain a mob of eight hundred men at Great Barrington, who prevented the session of the Court of Common Pleas and compelled three of the four judges to sign a paper that they would not act as a court until all the grievances had been redressed. They broke open the jail, set the prisoners free, and committed other acts of violence. The documents below, giving the orders of General Paterson and the account sent to the governor of the State, give the details of what happened:

* "LENOX, September 10, 1786.

"SIR: In consequence of special orders from the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this Commonwealth to me directed, requesting the Militia of this County to be called upon to support the Court which is to sit at Great Barrington on Tuesday next, you are therefore directed to order every (man) in your regiment to appear with their arms complete at Great Barrington on Tuesday next at 9 o'clock in the morning.

"N.B.—The alarm list to be excluded.

"I am, sir, your humble servant,

"JOHN PATERSON, Major-General,

"9th Division Militia.

"*To Colonel Caleb Hyde.*"

Among others Colonel Ashley replied to this order from Sheffield:

† "SHEFFIELD, 1786.

"*Gen John Paterson.*

"In obedience to your orders I have called upon the several companies in the Regt. under my command for their respective quota of men. The number were without difficulty collected in this place. The ammunition will be expended by tomorrow evening. We wish for your directions in which manner they shall be supplied. Ammunition is also wanted for the troops from Sandisfield and New Marlborough.

"Yours respectfully

"JOHN ASHLEY

"*To (Gen Paterson)*"

"(Col)

Exactly what happened is given in the letter below:

‡ "LENOX 13th Septemr 1786.

"SIR: I am to inform your excellency as nearly as I can, of the transactions of stopping the Courts of General sessions of the Peace & Courts

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxl., p. 241.

† From MS. in possession of Mr. Wm. Benjamin.

‡ Massachusetts Archives, vol. cxc., p. 263.

1786 of Common Pleas in the County of Berkshire upon the 12th day of September instant.

"Previous to the day on which the Court were to set, there appeared to be great uneasiness among the people: & that large numbers were preparing to stop the Courts. I made every necessary preparation for supporting Government that lay in my power without calling out the Militia— On Saturday evening before the Courts were to set I received your Excellency's letter of the 2d of instant September— I immediately applied to Major General Paterson, consulted him & a number of other Gentlemen on the Subject of calling out the Militia under arms in Support of Government, it was agreed to call out the Militia. General Paterson issued his orders accordingly which I transmit a copy of. On Monday evening before the time of the Courts sitting, the Court house was filled with armed men in opposition to Government. On Tuesday evening the militia under the order of General Paterson marched into Great Barrington much the greatest part of which joined those in opposition to government at the Court House— by this time the Court arrived & seeing such an opposition to Law, recommended General Paterson to embody the men for the Courts sitting on one side & to have those against its sitting on the other side of the highway which was immediately done— about 150 or 200 men appeared for the Courts sitting & seven or eight hundred men were against it. Then the Court opened and adjourned without day, this step being taken raised the Spirits of the People against the Courts to such a Degree that they determined to bring the Judges to their terms, as they call— They immediately moved to Judge Whitings house where the Judges were—drew up an instrument or declaration for them to sign, the purport of which is that they would not act as Judges of the Court of Common Pleas until the Constitution of Government shall be revised or a new one made— Judge Whiting, Barker & Goodrich signed it, *Judge Woodbridge refused & declared in preference to signing such a peice he would resign his Commission—*

"Those people in opposition to Law proceeded to the Goal broke open the door, set the confined debtors at liberty, left the Town of Great Barrington the same day— in this disagreeable situation we now are— this I think to be a candid representation of the transactions of the whole matter relative to the Courts being stopped in the County of Berkshire

"Which is transmitted to your excellency by

"your most obedient & humble Servant

"CALEB HYDE *Sheriff.*

"His excellency

"JAMES BOWDOIN esqr."

In Boston, on September 11th, the citizens assembled and assured the governor in the most emphatic way that whatever

came they would support the legally constituted authorities. 1786
On the 20th of September four hundred armed men in New Hampshire surrounded the legislature, but were put down by the citizens. The General Court had adjourned from July, 1786, to the last of January, 1787, but such riots in Massachusetts and in New Hampshire caused the governor to call it earlier, and he had convened it for the 18th of October. He now determined to call it three weeks earlier.

In the meantime the rioters made up their minds to prevent the sessions of the Supreme Court at Springfield, which was to sit on September 26th. The insurgents determined that the court should not be held, as if it were they would be indicted for treason. The friends of law and order determined that the court should be held, and be protected in any event and at whatever cost. Both parties meant what they said. The governor ordered the court-house to be protected by six hundred men. On the day the court opened Daniel Shays, who had been a captain of doubtful reputation in the Revolution toward its close, though he had shown great personal bravery at Bunker Hill and Stony Point, who had for causes unknown resigned his commission, and was then bankrupt, appeared with an armed force. Shays demanded of the court that none of the late rioters should be condemned by it. The court replied that the judges would execute the laws. The court had assembled on Tuesday, and by Wednesday there were two thousand men under arms, and but little business could therefore be transacted. On Thursday, September 29th, the court adjourned. Before doing so it decided that it was not expedient to hold court in Berkshire County at that time, which the rioters interpreted as a great victory for them. The rioters, emboldened by their success, then determined to secure the federal arsenal at Springfield, but were dissuaded from attacking it, and after four days both parties left. The rioters, under pretense that the court intended to go to Great Barrington, notwithstanding their resolution not to do so, went there and committed a number of riotous acts. The governor called a special meeting of the legislature for

1786 September 27th to consider the disturbed state of public affairs. The town of Springfield instructed their representatives "to vote against any proposition for a paper currency, and when all that is possible has been done to relieve the *real* burdens, to state as clearly as possible what mistakes have been made, in order to remove the *imaginary* as well as the *real* grievances." When the legislature assembled the governor stated to them the facts in relation to the riots, and proposed the suppression of the rebellion. Conventions and towns presented their grievances, but the legislature determined to support the governor and to defend the sessions of the court at Cambridge, and did so. The governor ordered a parade of over two thousand troops in the town, which demonstration prevented the riots from taking place there. The rioters had demanded that the General Court should sit elsewhere than in Boston. The General Court voted that it would remove to some other place as soon as it could be done consistently with the public interest. On October 28th they proposed a law against riots and unlawful assemblies. The more conservative citizens wanted a suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. The court considered it, but delayed action. The citizens became alarmed at what they considered unnecessary delay. This the rioters made the most of, and actually succeeded in convincing some worthy persons that a revolution was necessary in order to remove from their places men who only temporized with serious difficulties; so that the ranks of the rioters were increased by it. On October 23d a circular letter was sent by Shays to all the towns in Hampshire County, asking them "to see that the citizens be armed and that the militia be furnished with six hundred rounds of ammunition." The governor reported these facts to the General Court on November 7th as conclusive evidence that there was a serious and active rebellion. The danger was so great that the Superior Judicial Court was empowered to try all persons guilty of obstructing the administration of the laws, and on November 10th they suspended the *habeas corpus* act for eight months. In hopes of appeasing the rioters, all persons guilty of riot or

treasonable practices against the State from January 1st were granted a free pardon if they took the oath of allegiance. 1786

The amnesty offered having been rejected, warrants were issued for the apprehension of the leaders in Middlesex County, and a party of horse was ordered to start from Boston on November 29th to support the sheriff, and three of the leaders were arrested. After this Shays went to Rutland and remained there until December 30th, when he returned to Worcester.

The Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace had been adjourned in Hampshire County to December 26th, those in Berkshire to the first Tuesday in February, and those in Plymouth and Boston were also adjourned. This brought the first term of the court to Cambridge, which was protected, as described above, by being near Boston. The Court of General Sessions of the Peace sat at Worcester November 21st, which was a source of great grievance to the rioters. An address was sent out by the General Court to the people, which stated the amount of the Federal and State debts. The expenditures were carefully given and compared with those of the times of the provinces. The debt was shown to be comparatively small. It was made apparent that the complaints and acts of the rioters were likely to occur under any form of government, and the use of foreign luxuries was discouraged. The officers of the government and the people were called on to maintain the constituted authorities and the administration of justice. The General Court had thus done all that it could. It made taxes payable in specific articles, real and personal estate a tender for executions, and law procedure was made much less expensive. It adjourned on November 18th, sure that it had done all that it could and the people would be satisfied, but they did not vote sufficient money to meet the expenses of dealing successfully with the insurrection. The rioters ascribed all these acts to fear. They laughed at the offer of pardon, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* became a greater grievance than ever. Immediately after the adjournment of the General Court a convention was called at Worcester. On the 23d of November they

1787 sent an address to the people, in which all the acts, even the adjourning of the courts, which they had demanded, were held up as grievances, and these acts as bringing the court into contempt. When the Court of General Sessions of the Peace came to sit on the 22d in Worcester, as the government relied on the acts of the last General Court to appease the people, no precaution had been taken to protect it. One hundred and fifty men armed with hickory clubs and bayonets entered the town and billeted themselves on the people; they filled the court-house and would not allow the judges to enter, and prevented any business, either public or private, being done. The judges were obliged to sit in a tavern. On December 27th Shays, with three hundred and fifty men, prevented the session of the Court of Common Pleas in Springfield. The attack was so unexpected that the citizens, immediately after it happened, organized a strong military force for the purpose of defense. The governor did not hear of this attack until January 1st. As soon as he heard of these outrages he ordered the nine major-generals of the State to organize and equip the militia and take the field. Citizens in Middlesex County undertook to agree that no forces on either side should appear in Cambridge when the session of the court was to be held; but the insurgents would not agree to it, and they marched on Cambridge, but became discouraged and disheartened before they reached there.

The governor did not have the means of sustaining even a single regiment in the field, but the emergency was met by the capitalists and business men of Boston, who, realizing the danger, came forward with a loan to the State, trusting to future legislation to reimburse them. The loan was accepted, and orders issued for the raising and equipment of four thousand five hundred men. Public sentiment, as soon as these facts were known, changed at once and took the side of the law and order party.

The governor advised the judges of the courts at Worcester to adjourn them to January 23d, which they did. Shays by December 6th had collected about one thousand men; but as

the courts had adjourned there was nothing to do, and the 1787 agitation was transferred to Hampshire County; and on December 7th addresses were sent to the different towns, one by the "chairman of the Committee," and one by one of the leaders, reciting the grievances and asking for sympathy and support. The more reckless of the leaders hastened to march to Boston to release the imprisoned rioters, so that the governor ordered the troops of Middlesex County to be in readiness. The weather was very cold, and the action of the governor prevented the insurgents from going to Boston, so that they left Worcester on December 9th, Shays and a large body of men going to Rutland. They were not welcomed, and many froze or starved to death. They excited so much pity that Shays was asked if he would abandon the rebellion and retire if a pardon was granted to him, and he replied, "Yes, in a moment." One was made out, but no opportunity was found of delivering it to him. He subsequently determined to prevent the session of the courts at Springfield on December 26th. The agitation in Hampshire County, which had for some time been insurrectionary, now assumed the form of open rebellion. Shays marched into the town with three hundred men and took possession of the court-house and sent a petition to the court not to transact business, to which they perforce consented, and he left the court-house. On January 1st the governor heard that the insurgents were going to Worcester on the 23d, and he determined to support the courts there at any cost. Forty-four hundred men were ordered from five counties, together with four companies of artillery, to meet in Boston on the 18th and 19th of January, to be on duty for thirty days. The Hampshire quota of twelve hundred men was ordered to Springfield under General Shepard. The eastern militia were to meet in Roxbury and to join the Worcester forces at Worcester, which they did on the 22d, when order was restored. On the 12th of January the governor issued an address to the people, in which he stated the whole case impartially, asking the assistance of all good citizens in the Commonwealth. On the 19th of January, 1787, he issued orders

1787 to Major-General Lincoln, putting him in command of the military and empowering him, if he thought necessary, to call on the other major-generals for assistance. Besides this, the Council gave to the general the fullest possible powers. The appearance of a large armed force in the east had prevented any further demonstrations there, but the comparative immunity in the western part of the State made the insurgents there so bold that General Shepard was ordered to take possession of Springfield at once. Here he collected eleven hundred men to defend the town and the arsenal, which the men under Shays' command expected to seize on the 24th. Eleven hundred men were marshaled under Shays, who had just reached Wilbraham on his march from Rutland. A part of Lincoln's troops were less than two days' march in the rear of Shays. Four hundred men and boys, well armed and well drilled, were assembled on the western side of the river at West Springfield under Day. There was a good ice bridge over the river at the time, so that he was within easy reach of the arsenal. Four hundred more from Berkshire under Eli Parsons were at Chicopee in the northern part of the town. The insurgent force was nearly double that of General Shepard.

On his march toward Springfield General Lincoln wrote to General Paterson at Lenox :

"MARLBORO', Jan'y 22d, 1787.

"To Major General Paterson.

"SIR : You will before this have received the Governors orders to hold your Division in readiness to march on the shortest notice ; if in your opinion a body of four hundred men can be detached from your Division, without endangering the general interests, you will in that case immediately detach, to remain in service for the term of 30 days, unless sooner discharged, one Colonel, one Lt. Colonel, 1 Major, eight Captains, 16 Subalterns, thirty-two Sargents, thirty-two Corporals, four hundred rank and file ;—& direct them to rendezvous at such place as shall be most convenient within the limits of your own Division. If such rendezvous shall be nearer to Springfield than your own dwelling, you will in that case direct the Commanding Officer of the men detached to march to Springfield, the moment he shall receive information from General Shepard, that the Insurgents have embodied and march toward Worcester &

made it necessary he should follow them, & take possession of the public buildings & cover the magazine there, until further orders. In case you are nearer to Springfield than the place of Rendezvous, you will please on receiving information from General Shepard, that the Insurgents have embodied, & that he must follow them with his detachment, you will order the Regiment detached by you to march to Springfield & take possession of the public buildings, there, & remain as a cover to the magazine untill further orders; you will please to direct that your detachment march well-armed with flint-locks, whose Calibers shall carry as near as possible 18 balls to the pound, with bayonets, cartridge boxes & 30 rounds of cartridge, suitable to their fire-arms, blankets, carteens & havresacs with provision sufficient to supply them on the road to Springfield. You will please to cause that the Selectmen be reminded, of the several towns, of their obligations, by law to supply the men with Camp-Utensils, carriages & to forward provision to them untill they shall receive information from the Commissary General or his Deputy, that such supplies, are no longer necessary. You would have been early called upon for men, had it not been the opinion, of the Governor & Council, that you could not make a detachment from your Division, consistent with safety to the well-affected. I shall think myself obliged to you for such information of the movements of the Insurgents, as you think necessary for me to be acquainted with.

"I have the honor of being

"Dear Sir with real Esteem

"Your obedt. servt.

"B. LINCOLN."*

On the 23d he again writes:

"WORCESTER, Jan'y 23d, 1787.

"To Major General John Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: Should the Insurgents move in force from your County, to this side the river, you will please to follow them with as great a force, as you can draw from your Division, without leaving unsupported the well affected in your part of the Country; & to march to Springfield, & there unite your force with Major General Shepard, to cover the Magazine; and should the Insurgents move in any force, toward this quarter, or any other, you will with as great a body as you can spare with security to the Arsenal, progress after them.

"I have the honor of being

"Dear Sir with real Esteem

"Your obedt. servt.

"B. LINCOLN."†

* Communicated by S. T. Crosby, Esq., of Boston.

† *Ibid.*

1787 Luke Day of West Springfield was undoubtedly the ablest of all the leaders of the rebellion. He had served honorably during the Revolution and had retired poor. He had been a captain, but was given the brevet rank of a major at the close of the war. He was a fluent speaker, and by constantly talking about his own and their "grievances" to his "fellow-sufferers" had convinced himself and them that there were some great wrongs to be redressed. He became popular with his townspeople and commenced to drill those who agreed with him, who were at first armed only with clubs, but afterward with muskets. By force of flattery from others and constantly hearing himself talk, he had become convinced that he had a great mission to perform. He was a man much superior to Shays, and it was only by an accident that he had not become the recognized leader of the rebellion. He clearly considered himself to be the superior man, and was undoubtedly so, and he evidently thought that the success of the present undertaking, of which he seemed to be certain, would be owing to his direction of it. He was, however, like many others before and since, a victim of the disease, or rather moral weakness, of "*cacæthes loquendi*." He kept the town in a constant state of alarm by seizing respectable citizens in their own houses, to be held as hostages and for purposes of retaliation.

Shays on the 24th sent a message from Wilbraham to Day, asking him to co-operate with him in an attack the next day at 4 A.M. Day replied that he could not do so on the 25th, but would do so on the 26th. This letter was intercepted by General Shepard, but Shays knew nothing of it. Day then sent a summons to General Shepard to surrender and disperse. The same day Shays sent a petition from Wilbraham to General Lincoln, who was two days' march distant, asking for a suspension of all hostilities until the next General Court could settle all their difficulties, which was evidently only a blind, as General Lincoln was still two days' march from Springfield. He did not wait for an answer. On the afternoon of the 25th Shays, in ignorance of the interception of his letter to Day, who evidently thought that he was going to capture the whole

command of General Shepard independently of Shays and 1787 wished to get the whole credit for it himself, was ordered by General Shepard, who had been notified of Shays' departure from Wilbraham, to fall back, but his reply was that they intended to take the barracks, and he marched to within two hundred and fifty yards of it. General Shepard sent a messenger to Shays informing him that he was posted where he was by the orders of the governor and of Congress, and again ordered him to fall back, stating that if he did not do so at once he should fire on him. Some old army comrades went out to meet Shays and advised him to lay down his arms and abandon his treason, but though he received them pleasantly he declined to stop. As he still advanced, the general ordered his troops to fire the cannon, but over the heads of the insurgents, and two volleys were so fired; but this only increased their confidence, and they continued to advance. A discharge of artillery fired low sent his men flying in all directions without firing a single shot, crying, "Murder!" from their rear, and leaving three of their number dead upon the field. The precipitate retreat of the insurgents, which Shays was unable to stop until they had gone more than ten miles, stopped the affray. They were not pursued, as the object was to terrify rather than to kill the rebels. This ended what might have been a most disastrous conflict. Shays had the larger number of men, but was very poorly officered. General Shepard had an inferior number, but was very well officered.

How near this movement of the rebel leader came to being successful is shown by an extract from a letter of General Schuyler to Henry C. Van Schaack, then a resident of Pittsfield, dated February 7th:

"Mr. Shays seems to me to want a good head: I think he should not have appeared in the vicinity of General Shepard without having first concerted with his other leaders a plan of attack. To leave that adjustment to the last moment was injudicious, and with irregular troops it seems to me that he should have attempted to dislodge General Shepard at the dawn of day; but *tant mieux pour nous*, for Heaven only knows what would have been the consequence if Shays had gained a victory."

1787 The result of the conflict might have been very different had they really fought, and if Shays had taken the arsenal there is no doubt but much blood would have been shed. General Shepard feared another attack, but the men under Day did nothing. He was intensely irritated at the failure, and remained at West Springfield entirely inactive. On the 27th the troops of General Lincoln arrived. There was then no further danger of an attack upon General Shepard, but Day was cut off from communications with the west and Shays with the north. Notwithstanding the cold and fatigue of his troops, who were weary from their long march, General Lincoln ordered the army under arms at 4 P.M. on the 27th—the day he arrived—after a rest of only one hour. He went over on the ice to capture Day, who hastily retreated. His flight left his men to shift for themselves, and they offered little resistance, but retreated north so hastily that they left their half-cooked meals on the fire and their bread in the ovens and ran, leaving the road to Northampton strewn with their muskets and knapsacks. His junction with Shays was prevented by General Shepard. In the meantime General Lincoln had marched to capture Shays, who fled to Amherst in such confusion that his party mistook their own rear-guard for the soldiers of General Lincoln. As the result of this victory, the Middlesex militia, two thousand in number, who were entering Worcester, were ordered back. They had produced all the effect that was necessary by the exhibition of their military power. Shays, who went plundering provisions, fled to Pelham and took shelter among the hills. It was found that in his retreat he had carried many men from the town and ten sleigh-loads of provisions with him. A small party of General Shepard's men who had been captured were retaken, with fifty-nine of the insurgents and nine sleigh-loads of provisions. On January 30th General Lincoln sent a letter to Shays, demanding surrender. Shays replied, asking that both of the armies remain where they were, pending a presentation of the difficulties to the General Court. This was followed by a letter from three other of Shays' leaders. On the

31st General Lincoln replied that he could not admit their 1787
claims, and ordered them to disband under risk of being immediately attacked, but offered pardon to privates and non-commissioned officers who would lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance. The time had arrived for the General Court to assemble, but affairs were in such confusion that the members could not be collected until February 3d, the fourth day after the day to which they had adjourned. The governor rehearsed the situation to them.

There was considerable delay in reaching the business of the session, because petitions for the redress of all kinds of grievances were sent in from many different towns who commenced to see that their cause was hopeless. After some discussion they declared a state of rebellion to exist, approved of the action of the governor and of General Lincoln, voted the supplies necessary for the army, empowered the government to pardon privates and non-commissioned officers on condition of giving up their arms and swearing the oath of allegiance. A petition from Shays, dated Pelham, January 30, 1787, was received, which was really in the shape of a claim for a treaty backed by two thousand men, in order to get advantageous terms for themselves, and the court declared that it could not be received. Shays, afraid of further desertions of his men, did not wait at Pelham to hear the result of the court's decision, but marched to Petersham on February 3d, as a number of the towns in that vicinity had promised to support him. An officer of his the same day asked an interview with an officer of the army with a view to obtaining pardon for all the principals, but did not wait for an answer. General Lincoln heard of the march to Petersham the same day at noon at Hadley. It was supposed at first that this was only a feint, but orders were at once given for the army to be ready to march at a moment's notice with three days' provisions. Intelligence was received at 6 P.M. which made it certain that Shays' movement was a retreat, and the necessary orders were issued at once to march, and at 8 P.M., January 27th, the army moved. The weather was very cold when they

1787 started. At 2 A.M. a violent wind, with a snow-storm, arose. It was so bitterly cold that they had to march, for their only safety was in motion. They marched the whole distance, thirty miles, to Petersham, which the advance reached at 9 A.M. the next morning, the rear being five miles distant. The insurgents in the meantime were housed and warm, and felt perfectly secure. The surprise was complete. They abandoned the town by the back road in complete confusion, hardly firing a gun. They were pursued about two miles, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners, but no blood was shed. Shays with three hundred of his men retreated to Winchester, New Hampshire. Others, including the principal officers, fled into New York and Vermont, while some, convinced that the cause was hopeless, went back to their own homes. The privates among the prisoners were disarmed, and those who took the oath of allegiance received passports to return to their several towns.

He immediately wrote to General Paterson countermanding his instructions of January 22d and 23d :

"SPRINGFIELD, Jan'y 28th, 1787.

"To Major General Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to inform you, from the dispersed state of the Insurgents, a greater force, than are now on the ground, will be unnecessary. You will therefore please to suffer your troops to return, & if their remaining in arms should not be necessary to preserve the peace of your own county, you will suffer them to return to their several homes. I expect that we shall soon move a considerable force, which came on with me, into your County. If the whole of the troops should not be with you, you will send a copy of this letter to them, with orders for them to return also.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." *

In the meantime the insurgents in Berkshire County were becoming troublesome. General Paterson did not always find himself supported by the majority, and wrote to General Lin-

* Collection of S. T. Crosby, Esq., of Boston.

coln for instructions and reinforcements. The letters and replies are given below: 1787

"STOCKBRIDGE, January 29, 1787.

"SIR: This morning I had the pleasure to receive your favor of yesterday by Mr. Cook, my express. I most sincerely congratulate you on the happy prospects which are before us in aristocraton of legal and constitutional Government. There have been some days, and indeed ever since I have been here, a number of men hovering around me, threatening my troops and annoying the peaceable inhabitants. I this afternoon have formed an expedition against them, which has been executed with success. I have in my possession eighty-four prisoners, and the residue of the party are wholly dispersed. It has been this evening in contemplation with a number of gentlemen to apprehend the leaders of the insurrection who have dared to stimulate to rebellion the ignorant and thoughtless, but feared to risk their own persons in the conflict; but it is thought prudent to omit it, until your Honor arrives with the power of Government. General Rossiter, who is a virtuous citizen, a good officer, and has been serviceable in the business of this day, will have the honor to hand you this, and every information you may need he is capable of communicating.

"I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

"Your obedient servt,

"JOHN PATERSON.

"N.B.—If you should find it consistent with your plans and circumstances to send on a body of troops from your Command to this County, I wish it might be done immediately, as you are sensible we have hitherto been much the weakest party, and perhaps the business of this day will raise the spirits of the Insurgents, to the disadvantage of some good people.

"I have three hundred men or upwards in good spirits, shall be obliged to keep them embodied until your troops arrive. Captain Bacon, who accompanies General Rossiter, is a respectable gentleman and a staunch friend to Government.

"JOHN PATERSON.*

"STOCKBRIDGE, January 29, 1787.

On the 31st, finding that the insurgents from different parts of the country proposed to make a junction and attack in a body, he wrote again to General Lincoln:

"STOCKBRIDGE, January 31, 1787.

"To General Lincoln:

"SIR: The desperation of the factions in this County against Government has induced a kind of frenzy, the effects of which have been a most

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 338.

1787 industrious propagation of falsehood and misrepresentation of facts, and the consequent agitation of the minds of the deluded multitude.

"Last night, by express from several parts of the County, I am informed of insurrections taking place. My only security under present circumstances will be attempting to prevent a junction of the insurgents, which probably cannot be effected without the effusion of blood; to extricate me from this disagreeable situation, therefore, I pray you, Sir, to send to my aid a sufficient force to prevent the necessity of adopting that measure.

"I am, Sir, with much Esteem,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN PATERSON, Major-General." *

In reply to General Paterson's first letter General Lincoln replied by courier, congratulating him and giving special directions for the treatment of his prisoners :

"HADLEY, January 31, 1787.

"*To Major-General Paterson.*

"DEAR SIR: I am this moment honored with the receipt of your favor of the 29th. I congratulate you on our late success. I have no doubt but we shall have it in our power in a short time to disperse the people now in arms against the Government, and that if the Legislature in their present session shall act with decision and firmness we shall effectually crush the present Rebellion. Whether this is done or not must depend upon the General Court, for if they should not declare a rebellion to exist and make provisions to keep up a force until the heads of the insurgents and their abettors are apprehended, tried, and punished, these Counties will be in a more miserable state than before, for I have no doubt if the Insurgents were now dispersed and we returned that they would again embody, in which case our friends would be more exposed than ever.

"If among the insurgents there are any youth or simple men in years, who, from the want of the means of information or from the want of abilities to apply to right objects the information they do receive, such persons I think might be permitted to return to their several homes, after giving up their arms (such men ought not at present to hold them) & taking the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth.

"Those of another Class who have known better than they have acted & are now so convinced of their error, as that their liberation, under bond, may not be dangerous to the well affected, they I think might also be liberated on taking the oaths; There are another class, who, I think

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 339.

should be committed by a warrant from a Justice of the Peace being too inimical to be at large. 1787

"I am fully in sentiment with you, that you should not at present, attempt the arresting the most dangerous characters.

"Shays has pushed himself into Pelham where he has the strongest ground. I hope however that we shall have it in our power soon to dislodge him: it would be too great a division of our force to detach at present; the earliest opportunity will be embraced for doing it.

"You must I think be perfectly secure by keeping your men together as the Insurgents cannot now collect in force without your knowledge & may be taken in detachment.

"You may assure all the privates in your division that if they will surrender themselves, give up their arms & take the oath of allegiance to the State before some Justice of the Peace in your County that they will be recommended to pardon

"I have the honor of being

"Dear Sir with real Esteem

"Your obedt Serv

"To Genl Paterson."

"B. LINCOLN.*

As General Paterson's second letter made it necessary for General Lincoln to change his plans, he wrote to the governor as follows:

"HEAD QUARTERS HADLEY, Feby 1, 1787.

"DEAR SIR: I have just now been honored with the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 25th Ult^o

"Since mine of the 30th Ult^o by Mr Rice I have rec'd two letters No 1 & No 2 from Genl Paterson; they with my answers No 3 & No 4 I have the honor of enclosing. I have daily addresses from Towns, paper No 5 is one from Granby, since that I have rec'd the doings of a town meeting in New Braintree paper No 6 is an answer to those Towns & the spirit of my answers to others: Paper No 7 is an application from Shays; No 8 is my answer.

"I wait with a degree of impatience for such weather as will permit my reconnoitering Shays' post, which as I observed before is a very strong one; every exertion will be made to bring this matter to a happy close.

"I am dear Sir with sentiments of esteem

"Your Excellency's most obedient Servant

"B. LINCOLN.†

"His Excellency Governor Bowdoin."

* Collection of S. T. Crosby, of Boston, and Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 342.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 347.

1787 On the receipt of General Paterson's second letter, General Lincoln replied as follows :

"HEAD QUARTERS, HADLEY, Feby 1, 1787.

"DEAR SIR: I am this moment honored with the receipt of your favour of yesterday's date.

"Before you receive this you will probably receive mine by General Rossiter, in it I have fully expressed my sentiments relative to the importance of your preventing a junction of the men in arms against Government & that I could not at present make any detachments, the great object I have in view is to disperse Shays: this I hope & expect soon to do. Should you find your Insurgents assembling in such force as to endanger your situation, you had better fall this way; for if you cannot maintain your ground, you cannot give protection to our friends should you attempt it, if you should progress this way we shall soon form a junction, & bear down the opposition instantly

"I expect that we shall soon be placed respecting the controversy on very different grounds. The Legislature I am confident will immediately declare a rebellion to exist which will remove that delicacy which now in a degree, fetters all our movements. If in any of your marches the insurgents should attempt to obstruct your movements in order to apprehend any of these parties, you have a right to fire upon them; of their danger I would first warn them.

"Lest my letter of yesterday may have fallen into improper hands, I now enclose a copy of it.—

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt Servt

"B. LINCOLN.*

"Genl Paterson."

On February 5th Governor Bowdoin wrote to General Lincoln sending him a copy of the declaration that rebellion existed in the commonwealth and of the resolves passed by the legislature. He notified him that twenty-three hundred men were to *rendezvous* at Worcester, under Major-General Brooks, on the 10th. "You will please order them," he wrote, "to gather the three hundred men from the fourth division to operate in such a manner as you may think proper. Colonel Hall, on his arrival, informed me that you had ordered two

* Collection of S. T. Crosby, of Boston, and Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 345.

regiments from the 3d division, but General Brooks thinks, 1787 from his knowledge of those regiments, that few of the privates belonging to them would be assembled. As the proceedings of the General Court may produce some powerful and desperate efforts on the part of the insurgents, and as it now becomes essential to the dignity and safety of the government effectually to crush the insurrection, I have thought best to order an additional force, which from seventeen hundred has become twenty-six hundred, in consequence of a conference which I had this evening with a committee of the General Court, who signified their idea that it would be proper to enlarge the number."

The defeat at Springfield and the surprise of the retreating insurgents at Petersham by General Lincoln, who with an army of eastern militia was sent by Governor Bowdoin to restore public order, broke the heart of the rebellion; but there was still a considerable number of men in Berkshire who had not been able to join Shays on account of the rapid movements of General Lincoln, and who now determined to act for themselves and call off the troops from the east by making demonstrations in their own county. They determined to occupy the mountains between the two counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, where there are plenty of positions easily defended, from whence they could raid the adjacent towns and secure hostages at will.

Being informed of this state of things, General Paterson had raised a body of five hundred men, consisting of the most respectable people of the county, many of the most prominent citizens being willing in the public defense to serve in the ranks in their own and the public cause. This was but a small force to serve all over the county against a force of lawless men who were always changing their position, and who, recognizing no legal authority, were raiding, robbing, and murdering wherever they found an opportunity. He had also earnestly entreated assistance from General Lincoln, who had promptly responded by making his headquarters at Pittsfield. General Paterson's letter is given on the next page:

1787

"LANESBOROUGH, February 5, 1787.

"To Major-General Lincoln :

"DEAR SIR : Having intelligence on Wednesday last that a party of insurgents were collecting at a place called Stafford's Hill at the south part of Adams, I thought it my duty to move the troops under my command toward them. That evening I arrived at Pittsfield, and, seeing me determined to come toward them, they decamped from their situation with a declared intention of collecting their forces the next day at the south end of Williamstown. Convinced that my safety depended on the rapidity of my movements, on Friday I marched toward the intended place of rendezvous of the enemy. A small party had collected, who immediately dispersed at my approach. On Saturday I returned to this place, where I have been informed that the insurgents are collecting at the southeast and southwest corners of the county. A man by the name of Bishop was taken prisoner, and this day released in Partridgefield by a party under command of Major Wiley of about thirty-five men (whom his followers called General), who said he was then pointing his course toward Washington, where he was to be met by a party of two hundred more, who had marched from this county and who had not been able to make their way to Shays by reason of the force of Government which lay in their way. From Sandisfield I am informed, and by gentlemen upon whom I depend, that about forty men had marched from that town and were progressing toward the same place. Mr. Hurst, a gentleman of veracity and judgment, was this day made a prisoner by that same party, then increased to four hundred men. I am further assured that a man who principally directs the movements of the insurgents in this county has been some days since in the State of New York, endeavoring by the propagation of every falsehood he could invent to arouse the inhabitants to reinforce his party here.

"I have thought it my duty thus to detail to you my real situation, and I am certain that, if in your power, you will immediately dispatch a body of men from those under your command to my aid. Should this not be the case, I would suggest to your consideration the propriety of making a detachment from the body of militiamen under command of General Shepard.

"I am, sir, with much esteem,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN PATERSON, *Maj.-Gen.*

"To Honble Majr Genl Lincoln.

"P.S.—To-morrow I shall move to Lenox, where I shall possess the most eligible situation in which either to defend myself or prevent a junction of the enemy. Should I find them collected in a situation in which I shall judge it practicable to attack them with a probability of success, I shall not wait the determination of the General Court determining that

they are in a state of rebellion to consider them as such, and act accordingly with your troop, and pray you to forward ammunition, which is much wanted, especially balls." * 1787

The following is the duplicate of the above letter sent later :

"LANESBOROUGH, 5 Feby 1787.

"DEAR SIR: Having intelligence on Wednesday last that a party of the insurgents were collecting at a place called Staffords Hill at the south end of Adams, I thought it my duty to move the troops under my command toward them. That evening I arrived at Pittsfield. Perceiving me determined they decamped from their situation with a declared intention of meeting the next day at the south end of Williamstown. Convinced that my safety depended on the rapidity of my motions, on Friday I marched toward their intended place of rendezvous, a small party had collected there. who on my approach immediately dispersed. On Saturday I returned to this place. Here I have been informed that the insurgents are collecting at the southeast and southwest corners of the county. A Mr. Bishop was taken prisoner by a party of about 85 men, under the direction of Major Wiley, whom his followers stiled General, who said he was then pointing his course toward Washington, where he was to be joined by 200 men who had marched from this county, with an intention to join Shays but had not been able to effect their purpose. From Sandisfield I am informed by gentlemen on whose representation I fully rely, that about 40 men had marched from that town and were progressing toward the same place of rendezvous. Mr. Hurst, a Gentleman of character, and with whom I have conversed, was made to-day a prisoner by this same party then increased to about 100 men. I am further assured that a man who principally directs the movements of the insurgents in this county has been some days since in the State of New York endeavoring by the propagation of every falsehood he could invent to rouse the people there to reinforce his party.

"Thus I have thought it my duty to detail to you my real situation, and I am certain if in your power you will detach immediately to my aid a body of the Troops under your immediate command. Should this not be in your power I beg leave to suggest to your consideration the propriety of detaching a part of the Hampshire militia under the command of General Shepard.

"Thus far is a duplicate of what I sent you this morning. Since then I am arrived at Lenox. Since I came here videttes whom I had sent for that purpose report that Wiley has taken post at Washington and they report that their force is composed of considerable numbers.

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 355.

1787 "This letter will be handed you by Mr. Brown who can inform you of any particulars of which you wish to enquire.

"I am Dear Sir,

"With much esteem,

"Your most obed. Servt.

"*The Hon M.-Genl. Lincoln.*" *

"JOHN PATERSON.

On the receipt of this letter General Lincoln determined to march to Berkshire at once. He wrote on February 6th to the governor† of his change of plans, and started for Berkshire. In the meantime the couriers had carried several letters between the two generals, which are given below. He wrote at once in reply to General Paterson :

"PETERSHAM, Feb'y 6th, 1787.

"*To Major General John Paterson.*

"DEAR SIR: I have been honoured with the receipt of your favor of yesterday's date.

"Shays, Saturday afternoon left Pelham; in the evening I received information of his movements, put the Troops in motion, & arrived here on Sunday morning, at 5 o'clock.

"Upon our approach, he left this place, in a very precipitate manner, —150 fell into our hands; he moved thro' Athol Northerly; the last information I had of him was near Chesterfield, in the State of New Hampshire, with about 100 men; the rest are dispersed, & many returned to their homes; this gives me an opportunity to remove as fast as possible toward you.—I shall commence my march for Hadley, to-morrow morning: No time will be lost in throwing a very sufficient force into your County. I shall have the pleasure to come with the Troops.

"The General Court have conducted with great spirit & dignity—they have fully approved the measures taken; they will provide for the expense of them; they have declared a Rebellion to exist, & have ordered the Governor to keep up a force untill the Rebellion is fully crushed. Take some strong post, if you consider yourself in danger, untill I can relieve you. Should you think it advisable to attach the Insurgents, prior thereto; warn them of their danger, & that the General Court has declared a Rebellion to exist, & that if they do not surrender, they will be considered as open Enemies, & treated as such.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." ‡

* From collection of Z. T. Hollingsworth, of Boston.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 358.

‡ Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

General Paterson could not implicitly rely upon the militia 1787 which the law placed under his command, for a large majority of them had in the beginning of the conflict sympathized with, aided, and abetted the opposition to the government; but when it came to armed rebellion many of them had yielded to their sober second thought. This change in the position of the better class of those who had favored the agitation in its earlier stages was due in part to their own observation of what it threatened against society and the country, but it was also largely aided by several gentlemen of influence, who went from town to town calling attention to the dangers with which it threatened the commonwealth; and of these General Paterson was one of the most influential, especially among those who had served with him in the war. The change, however, was not extensive enough for him to rely upon it for restoring order in the county, and hence his appeal to General Lincoln. That it was not unnecessary was proved by the later outrages at Stockbridge upon the Rev. Mr. Skeeel at Egremont, and in other places by an inroad of Shays' men from New York.

The news of the affair at Petersham reached the General Court on February 6th. It gave great encouragement to the friends of good order, but the court hesitated to authorize the countermanding of the order for the two thousand six hundred men; but on further information on February 8th they reduced the number to one thousand five hundred, to be enlisted for four months. They requested the governor to offer a reward of £150 for the arrest of any of the leaders of the rebellion, and desired him to ask the governors of the other States to do the same. They complimented General Lincoln for his march from Hadley to Petersham. The insurgents now changed their tactics and commenced attacks by small bodies by surprises, attended with robbery and murder. On February 16th amnesty was again offered, but this time they were required to lay down their arms and take the oath, and were required to keep the peace for three years, during which time they were not to be allowed to vote, to hold any office, nor to serve the State in any capacity nor receive any honor or emolument that the State could grant, unless by the 1st of

1787 May, 1788, they could satisfy the General Court of their unqualified support of the government. The governor was given power to dispense with the whole or any part of the conditions in favor of any one who, having taken up arms against the government, volunteered for its support before the 1st of February, and to all persons who had accepted the conditions of General Lincoln offered on the 29th and 30th of January. This law caused more than twenty of the towns to petition for the pardon of all State prisoners and the recall of the army. They promised that the rebels were now repentant, and would cease from any acts of rebellion; but while they were making these promises General Lincoln sent letters representing the malignant acts of the rebel marauding parties, which stopped all opposition to it in the General Court, and the bill was passed.

When the rebels fled from Petersham on February 4th General Lincoln dismissed three companies of artillery, ordered three regiments to Worcester, and started for Northfield, to which place the fugitives had fled. An express from General Paterson in Berkshire with the letters cited above changed his plans. The rebels there who had not been able to join Shays took up arms in that county. Five hundred of the best citizens organized themselves under General Paterson to oppose them. The rebels assembled at West Stockbridge under Hubbard, who had one hundred and fifty to two hundred men. The forces were sent against them. The advance was fired on. On the demand of some of the gentlemen who were known to them that they should lay down their arms, some of them did so and the others fled. Two of the rebels were killed, and Hubbard and eighty-four men were taken prisoners. Most of these after being disarmed took the oath and went home. The rebels collected again at Adams but fled at General Paterson's approach to Williamstown, and on his appearing there they were dispersed and fourteen of their number were captured. They were determined to prevent the sitting of the courts, and were collecting in such numbers, and so large a body were actually on their march toward the town of Washington, un-

der a Major Wiley, as to make General Paterson's situation 1787 unsafe; and he therefore sent an express to General Lincoln for assistance. General Lincoln immediately started for Berkshire, passing through Amherst, Hadley, Chesterfield, Partridgefield, Worthington, Peru, Hinsdale, and Dalton to Pittsfield. Another division under General Shepard marched there by a different route. On February 10th he wrote to General Lincoln:

"SHEFFIELD, Feb'y 10th, 1787.

"DEAR SIR: I have this moment heard that Wiley was yesterday at Green river, trying to collect men to assist in opposition to Government, and that he had procured a party, how many he does not know to join him, he gave out that his intention was to attack this party, part of his men were on this side of the line, & he with another part on the other side, the person who brought this intelligence is recommended to me as a man of truth.

"I am with esteem

"Your obd. servt.

"JOHN PATERSON.

"Honble Genl Lincoln, Pittsfield." *

In the meantime General Lincoln wrote to him:

"PITTSFIELD, Feb'y 12th, 1787.

"To Major General John Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: Your favor of yesterday's date came to hand about 5 o'clock this morning.

"Two of our Regiments arrived here yesterday, in the storm, exceedingly fatigued, the other is not up, which prevents their marching again this morning. I would have sent you some relief by sleighs but they and many of our people are out, & have been so all night, in order to apprehend some particular characters. Besides if the Rebels should attack at the time you supposed they would do it, I know that a reinforcement could not reach you; I intend to-morrow morning to move one of our Regiments toward you. Should there be any appearances which shall make it indispensable to your safety, I will attempt to succour you before.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." †

* From the collection of Grenville Kane, Esq., of New York.

† Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

1787 Two hundred and fifty rebels had in the meantime collected in Lee to prevent the sitting of the courts. Three hundred citizens assembled to protect the courts. The rebels dispersed on the promise of the commander of the militia that he would have them tried at home if arrested. When the army arrived in Pittsfield a party was dispatched to Dalton and another to Williamstown to arrest Wiley. Both parties returned the next day, the first one having taken Wiley's son and six prisoners. Wiley escaped. The other party took fourteen, and had one man wounded. General Paterson had written for reinforcements, to which General Lincoln replied as below :

"PITTSFIELD, Feb'y 12th, 1787.

"To Major General John Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: I am this moment honored with the receipt of your favor of this date, our men are now in the Regiment. Col. Woods will march for your part of the County in the morning. By the many people who have this day arrived I have little reason to believe that any party will attempt your force to-day; the earliest succour will be given you.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." *

While the army was in Berkshire marauding parties in the county of Worcester commenced to arrest travelers and to go plundering though the county, constantly insulting the friends of the government, in order to distract the attention of the forces in the west and partly to satisfy their own desires for disorder. When this was learned at Worcester, a party of one hundred and fifty in sleighs and on horseback started to capture them. When the insurgents learned of it they left their quarters and went some little distance, secreted themselves behind stone walls, and fired on the militia and then fled to the woods. Two of the militia were wounded. The rebels were pursued to Rutland in Worcester County, where they were dispersed and four of them captured.

On February 15th Eli Parsons, a very truculent person, who

* Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

led some four hundred Berkshire men in Shays' army, and 1787 who was one of those who found a hiding-place among the hills, issued an address to his "friends and fellow-sufferers in the lower counties," stating that he was collecting reinforcements from New York and Vermont, and beseeching the friends to assert their rights. The sanguinary character of this manifesto is shown by the last paragraph, which is given below :

"The first step I would recommend is to destroy Shepard's army ; then proceed to the county of Berkshire, as we are now collecting in New Lebanon in York State and Pownal in Vermont State, with a determination to carry our point if fire, blood, and carnage will effect it. Therefore we beg that every friend will immediately proceed to the county of Berkshire and help us Burgoyne Lincoln and his army."

On February 16th General Shepard, with warrants from the proper authority, sent a party into Vermont to arrest Parmenter, one of the leaders, but they were met by such hostile assemblies that they were obliged to return to Massachusetts. They afterward succeeded in arresting the whole party, including Parmenter, who was tried and convicted of treason. They lost only one of their number. The period for which the militia were called out had expired on February 1st, and the new troops not having arrived in any large number, and General Lincoln being left with only about thirty men, the rebels determined to seize him and other persons, but put it off until the troops arrived and it could no longer be done. The turn that public opinion was taking at this time is well illustrated by the letter given below :

"RICHMOND, Feb. 22, 1787.

"Hon. Maj. Gen. Lincoln.

"SIR: Capt. Wood proposes to make application to your honor in behalf of Roswell Turner, now a soldier in his Co. for his arms which were delivered up to Capt. Longfellow, when he was in this town. He lived in West Stockbridge, where the poisonous infection spread, & being young & ignorant, was easily influenced. He soon realized his fault & swore the oath of allegiance, and will most cheerfully employ his arms in the defense of the Government.

"I am yours etc.

"NATHANIEL BISHOP."

1787 The rebellion had now taken the shape of raids from neighboring States. The General Court therefore instructed the governor to write to the governors of all these States, offering a reward for the capture of the rebels, and requesting them to take means to prevent their receiving supplies. The governor of Rhode Island replied on the 15th of February and promised to act, but did nothing; but the Assembly by a large majority refused to act, and allowed one of the rebels a seat in its chamber. The governor of Connecticut replied on the 20th, offering every assistance, issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of the rebels, and forbidding aid and comfort to be given to them. In May the Assembly passed a resolution ordering the arrest of persons inciting to rebellion, and they were arrested and imprisoned. In New Hampshire, where the legislature was not in session, the governor and council ordered the arrest of persons inciting to rebellion, and gave the major-general orders to arrest all armed parties coming into the State from other States. No answers were received from New York or Vermont.

In order to provide against these raids General Lincoln wrote to General Paterson as follows:

"PITTSFIELD, Feb'y 21, 1787.

"To Major General John Paterson.

"DEAR SIR: You will please to raise immediately, to remain in service for the space of ten days, unless sooner discharged—

Cap.	Sub.	Ser.	Cor.	D. & F.	Private.
4	6	16	16	4	200

cause one hundred to rendezvous at Sheffield on the twenty-third, there to remain for a cover to that & the neighboring Towns:—the other to rendezvous in this town on the same day.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." *

General Paterson sent dispatches to General Lincoln notifying him of the approach of the rebels:

* Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

"LENOX, Feb. 25th, 1787. 1787

"DEAR SIR: The bearer, Mr. Bennett, I have directed to wait on you with Col. Ashley's letter to receive your orders.

"I am with respect & esteem

"Your obedient servant

"JOHN PATERSON.

"*To Hon. M. Gen. Lincoln.*" *

On February 26th the people of the town of Richmond wrote to General Lincoln at Pittsfield that the insurgents were collecting forces in New York State.

"Feb. 26th, 1787.

"*Selectmen of Richmond*

"*To Gen. Lincoln, at Pittsfield.*

"By intelligence this moment rec'd from New Canaan, the insurgents collected in N. York State have paraded & marched in 3 Divisions. 120 was counted bet. 10 and 12 this evening in 1 Div. marching toward this County. We are much alarmed at this Military appearance & think it our duty to give your Honor this, and every information that threatens so immediate destruction. We are your most obed. Servants

"JOS RAYMOND.

"BENJ. PIERSON & WM. BARNS." †

On February 26, 1787, eighty to ninety men under Captain Perez Hamlin came into Berkshire from New York State, pillaged Stockbridge, took some of the principal men prisoners, and marched with their prisoners and booty to Great Barrington. They broke open the jail and set the prisoners free, and marched to Sheffield. They were met on the 27th on the western boundary of the town by eighty men under Colonel Ashley, who gave them battle, and here the severest engagement of the rebellion took place. Two of the rebels were killed, and a third died of his wounds. Thirty, including Hamlin, their leader, were wounded, and a large number were taken prisoners. Of Colonel Ashley's forces two were killed and one was wounded. One of the killed was a prisoner in the hands of the rebels. He was killed by the fire of the militia, for to screen themselves the rebels put their prisoners in front. General Paterson did not arrive in time for the action,

* From MS. in possession of Mr. Wm. Benjamin.

† Communicated by W. Benjamin, New York.

1787 which had been so decisive. He came up a few hours later, and took charge of the prisoners and relieved the gentlemen who had so gallantly won the field and dispersed the rebels. The same day Colonel Ashley sent reinforcements to General Lincoln with field pieces and ammunition. Fearing an attack on Lanesboro, General Lincoln wrote as follows :

"PITTSFIELD, Feb'y 28th, 1787.

"*To General John Patterson.*

"DEAR SIR: I have invited all the Good People of Lanesborough to turn out this afternoon, & to remain in Arms till further Orders, for the purpose of defending their own Town, and of giving aid to their Friends, should they not be attacked themselves. My application is but a wish, they may or may not obey it, it appears to me that their own safety requires the measure, would it not be well, if you are of the same opinion, to issue your orders on the subject.

"I have the honor of being

"Dr Sir with sincere Esteem

"Your obt. Servt.

"B. LINCOLN." *

On the 1st of March the senate ordered "that his excellency the governor be and is hereby requested to express to Major-General Lincoln that the legislature entertain a high sense of the spirit, patriotism, and distinguished merit of the officers and soldiers who at the call of their country have, with a cheerfulness peculiar to great and good minds, exerted themselves in defense of the rights and privileges secured to the citizens of this commonwealth by our happy constitution."

"The legislature congratulate their brethren in arms on the success that has crowned their virtuous exertions for the suppression of the late lawless rebellion and insurrection.

"In the House of Representatives read and concurred, and approved by the governor." †

After the attack at Stockbridge, February 26th, the General Court on March 8th requested the governor to write again, and asked the governors not only to arrest the rebels themselves, but to allow the officers from Massachusetts to enter

* Communicated by S. T. Crosby, of Boston.

† Court Records, vol. xlix.

their States and arrest them. In the meantime General Lincoln, after the engagement at Sheffield, had sent an express to the governor, giving information of the affair of the 26th. The legislature at once issued the most general orders to General Lincoln; three regiments of militia were ordered out to co-operate with the Massachusetts troops, and they gave the governor leave of absence in order to visit the governors of the neighboring States; and he went to the scene of action with General Lincoln. This obliged the rebels to leave for Vermont. At first the governor of that State refused to do anything for fear that the legislature might be surrounded by men whom he knew were arming; but on the urgent and very spirited resolution of the General Court of Massachusetts being sent to the governor of that State, and a remonstrance against the aiding of convicts flying from justice, the governor of Vermont issued on February 22d a proclamation as requested. The governor of Pennsylvania complied at once with the request of the governor of Massachusetts, and March 1st offered an additional reward for the capture of the rebels. On March 8th the General Court authorized the governor to march the militia out of the State if it was necessary. The governor wrote to Congress, informing them that there was an insurrection in the State, and requesting Congress to send troops to defend the Federal arsenal at Springfield, and asking a commission for General Lincoln and authority to march troops into any other State for the apprehension of the leaders. This done, the General Court proceeded to the trial of those in custody. On February 26th the Supreme Judicial Court were directed to hold a special session of the counties of Berkshire, Hampshire, and Middlesex. The court was to sit in Worcester on the last Tuesday in April. The selectmen were ordered to remove from the jury-list the names of all persons who had aided or forwarded the rebellion, unless such persons could obtain a vote of the town to have their names reinserted, and the attorney for the commonwealth did not object. The rebellion had in some towns been so general that there were hardly enough persons left to be officers of the cor-

1787 poration. On the 10th of March the General Court appointed three commissioners whose duty it was on application of any one concerned in the rebellion, and on furnishing satisfactory evidence of their sorrow and taking the oath, to restore them to citizenship without being bound to keep the peace. From this act there were excepted Shays, Wheeler, Parsons, and Day, and any persons who had fired on or killed any citizens, and the commander of the party to which any person who had killed any citizen belonged, and any member of the rebel council of war, and all persons against whom warrants had been issued by the governor and council, unless liberated on bail. The commission consisted of the major-general acting, and the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House. They also passed a resolution directing that the selectmen and other town officers should take the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth. They also passed a bill reducing the number of terms of holding the courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, and a new bill reducing the allowances made to public officers. They appointed a committee to inquire into public grievances. The committee reported only very few:

1st. That the interest on the public securities had not been promptly paid.

2d. That the Treasurer had not been held under sufficient restrictions in drawing orders.

3d. That the governor's salary was too high.

The legislature passed a bill reducing the governor's salary to £800, and the governor objected that his salary of £1100 was not sufficient, and that the legislature had no right to reduce it; that the governor ought not to be under the influence of the General Court; that the Constitution provided that he should have a permanent and sufficient salary; and the bill was lost. The same day, March 11th, the governor at the request of both Houses adjourned them. In the recess of the legislature seven hundred and ninety persons were restored by the commission. Of those who were tried six were convicted of treason in Berkshire, six in Hampshire, one in Worcester,

and one in Middlesex, or fourteen in all. They were con- 1787
demned to death. Besides this, many persons of prominence and some officers were convicted of using seditious words. One was a member of the House of Representatives. He was sentenced to sit on the gallows with a rope around his neck, to pay a fine of £50, and was bound to keep the peace for five years. This sentence was carried out. Afterward the Court, on April 30th, advised that only two in Hampshire and two in Berkshire should suffer death, but the sheriff was instructed not to open his orders until May 17th, when they were under the gallows. To the others the governor on April 30th granted a free pardon. A reprieve was granted to those condemned to the 21st of June. After all these acts of clemency, in one of their predatory excursions on May 21st the rebels captured two citizens and held them as hostages for the lives of Parsons, Parmenter, and Henry McClintock, who were under sentence of death for high treason. They threatened to put these citizens to death if the sentence was executed. Both of the gentlemen afterward escaped. At the session of the legislature the governor reported that it was necessary to keep troops stationed in Hampshire and Berkshire counties until the rebellion was put down. The legislature voted a force of not more than eight hundred and not less than five hundred men for this purpose. They also passed resolutions pardoning all persons connected with the rebellion on their taking the oath before the 12th of September, except nine who were named. It was evident that the rebellion had been put down, but some of the leaders went to Canada with the hope of obtaining aid to keep up the strife; but in this they were not successful. They then determined to go to the polls, where they should have gone in the first instance. Each party used every means in its power to elect its candidates. The result of the elections was a complete surprise to every one. The conservative party, which had been the party of law and order and had supported the government in all its acts, was defeated by a large majority, so that it seemed as if there had been a complete change in the public sentiment in favor of the rioters.

1787 The legislature was convened for the fourth time since the rebellion, on April 27th, on account of the death of the treasurer of the State. Every one looked forward to the session with the greatest anxiety. Governor Bowdoin resigned, and Governor Hancock was elected in his place. It was found, when the legislature assembled, that not more than a quarter of the new members had been in previous legislatures, and that several of these had been implicated in the rebellion, some of them having been fugitives on account of acts of treason, and others having actually served a time in prison. It was supposed that they would at once grant a free pardon to all the rebels, but contrary to all expectations, the session took at once a conservative tone. They refused by a vote of 129 to 94 to grant a general amnesty. On June 16th they extended the time of reprieve for the convicts to August 2d.

On the 29th of June thanks were sent to the States who had aided the State of Massachusetts. The legislature then directed that after that date no further acts of clemency be granted to any found in arms against the State. It was found on examination that the resolution of pardon extended only to persons who had been guilty of treason; another was therefore introduced to include seditious practices. One party contended that the cost of prosecution should be paid by the commonwealth, and another by the culprits. They passed as a compromise a resolution that no prosecution should be commenced against any one for sedition or seditious practices until the end of the next session. This session ended on the 7th of July. The continued reprieving of the convicts prevented the rebels outside of the State from committing further acts of rebellion and avoided a pretense for hostilities, and these reasons were stated in the warrants.

A bill had been introduced into the General Court granting indemnity to the leaders of the rebellion, but so worded that any one against whom an indictment had been found did not come under its provisions. It consequently bore very severely on those who had been active in the commencement of the rebellion but had early changed their minds and been loyal sup-

porters of the government since then. In the general desire 1787 for clemency, as these men had been forgotten, the amnesty was accorded to them, as shown by the letter to Governor Hancock dated August, 1787, written by Mr. Van Schaack :

“It is with a degree of satisfaction that I have it in my power to assure your Excellency that if the resolve of the 13th of June last had comprehended persons under indictment for the smaller offenses [this resolve gave amnesty to the leaders of the rebellion], the inhabitants of Pittsfield would have been entirely satisfied. Major Oliver Root, Captain Daniel Sackett, Lieutenant Anson Noble, and Constable Moses Wood are of this class of men, and were among those who in the early stages of the insurrection returned to a sense of their duty, and have ever since demeaned themselves as faithful citizens. They feel exceedingly chagrined that they should be under degrading disqualifications, while those who have committed high-handed offenses against the public have returned to the bosom of the country without punishment.”

On September 12th a pardon was granted to four of the convicts, and four were reprieved until the 20th. Of those confined in Berkshire two escaped and the other had his sentence commuted to hard labor for eleven years. On August 12th quiet was so far restored that the number of men in arms was reduced to two hundred. On September 20th the governor ordered them to be discharged.

In extinguishing the last sparks of the rebellion against the authority of the commonwealth amongst the Berkshire Hills, General Paterson was as active as he had been efficient in the commencement of it. He was prompt, energetic, active, always on the alert and ready for every emergency. How efficient his service was and how highly it was appreciated is shown by the fact that when resolutions of inquiry implying a censure on some of his actions during the rebellion were presented in the House on the 5th of March, 1787, the Senate refused to concur.*

It was shown that the general had not heard of the declaration of the rebellion made by the General Court on February 4th, when he treated with Wiley, as he had been justified in

* See Appendix F.

1787 doing, not only on account of the orders which he had previously received from General Lincoln, but also on account of the measures which had been passed in the General Court. It was several days after he treated with Wiley before he received news of the declaration of a rebellion, and when he did so treat with him it was done with every reserve that was necessary under the circumstances and every caution that would be expected from a leader of his military ability.

In February, 1788, Shays and Parsons humbly begged for pardon, which was granted on the 13th of June following, on condition that they, with those persons who were among the number who had been excepted in the indemnity of June 13, 1787, should never accept or hold any office, either civil or military, under the commonwealth.

John Hancock was elected governor of Massachusetts by the first vote of the State on September 4, 1780, and held the office until failing health compelled him to resign. During the winter of 1784-85 James Bowdoin succeeded him and was re-elected in 1786. He was governor during all the first part of the rebellion, and it is owing largely to his determination, foresight, and wise policy that the rebellion was so quickly put down, and to his instructions to the commanding officers that there was so little blood shed. When he resigned in April, 1787, John Hancock succeeded him, and carried out the measures initiated by Governor Bowdoin of bringing the rebels to justice, but so tempering justice with mercy that none of the leaders became troublesome afterward, and that their punishment, while fully satisfying justice, was not so severe as to sour the rebels and their friends on account of the harshness of their treatment, for both governors recognized that these men were for the most part misguided, and that most of the privates were more sinned against than sinning. If the order had been reversed and Hancock had been the governor during the rebellion instead of afterward, it is doubtful whether it would have ended so happily. It was one thing, however, to suppress the rebellion, but quite another to bring the disaffected people to again, cordially and unconditionally, support

the government. This John Hancock did. Only one sentence 1787 was carried out. Those condemned were either allowed to escape or were pardoned at the foot of the gallows as they went to what everybody supposed was their execution, this suffering having been judged amply sufficient. Order was restored, commerce revived. The laws were revised so as to fit the then condition of things. The State became prosperous, and has continued to remain so.

The rebellion was a peculiar one, inasmuch as it did not originate in dissatisfaction toward any of the officers of the government or toward the government itself. It was more the impulse of a distressed people, loaded with burdens the reason for which they did not understand, to do something to rid themselves of their difficulties, which they could not explain, but to overcome which they thought they must do *something*. It was as much the result of having no profitable employment and of having too much time to *talk over* troubles—with no other result than the excitement which the exaggeration of the real evils which have to be borne always produces—as it was of the troubles themselves. Had there been fewer meetings to protest against wrongs, the remedy for which they had in their own hands in the elections, and which could easily have been cured in a few months at least, there would have been no rebellion. It was as much the result of injudicious *talk* as of real grievances.

There was very great and general rejoicing when the rebellion was quelled. It had been put down by the decisive and vigorous action of the authorities, aided by the best people in the State. But for their vigorous action it might have ripened into a serious civil war, not only in Massachusetts but in the neighboring States. The men who accomplished it received but little thanks. The undercurrent of popular sympathy had all along been with the rioters. People felt that their grievances were real, and while they did not uphold their unlawful actions, they felt for the men. The men who had overcome the rebellion felt the weight of the popular odium which usually falls to the lot of those who are called on to *execute* justice

1787 when the public sympathizes with the offender. Such odium fell heavily on Governor Bowdoin and General Lincoln at the time, but both of them lived to be thoroughly appreciated after the lapse of sufficient time to allow matters to adjust themselves. The memories of all those who helped to put the rebellion down are now held in grateful appreciation, while their opponents have been forgotten. It now requires even research to revive the history of anything but the patriotism which these men who so ably defended the State showed during the whole of those perilous times.

This period must be regarded as one of the most important in the history of the United States, for it brought the attention of the leading men in all of the States to the necessity of having a government much stronger than that which had been proposed, and it undoubtedly helped to cement the Union, which has been so prosperous since that time. The rebellion played an important part in the history of those times, for although open opposition was made in only one State, it showed that it was possible in all. We owe to Governor Bowdoin a great debt for carefully studying the causes of the rebellion and endeavoring to remedy them, and for his vigilance in seeing that the leaders were ferreted out and that the misguided people were treated with proper but not too great leniency.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PURSUITS OF PEACE.

AFTER the rebellion was over, the legislature, by carefully prepared enactments, and the courts, by very wise decisions, ameliorated the evils as far as it was possible, and the people themselves, by mutual forbearance, diminished the troubles which previous harsh measures had made so grievous. Imprisonment for debt ceased little by little to be the fashion, while laws ameliorating the too harsh relations between debtor and creditor were passed. The farmer saw that whatever else was true, his land could not produce everything that he required to work his farm, or even for his convenience and comfort; that he must purchase certain articles, and that, although these things might be imported, they were not of necessity articles of luxury, and therefore a cause of demoralization. 1789-1790

Grievances were adjusted by proper course of law, and the State settled down quietly into a prosperity that it had never known, even in pre-Revolutionary times. Village life became a routine of every-day duties. The town meeting, which had been the safety-valve up to the time of the Revolution, resumed its functions, and peace and quiet reigned throughout the State.

No one in western Massachusetts was more prominent in bringing about the good-will and confidence and restoring order than General Paterson. Having been called as a soldier to put down the rebellion with the iron hand of war, he had been conversant with the dissatisfaction in every part of Berkshire County. He was thoroughly acquainted with the ideas of those who had real or fancied grievances. He was

1789-1790 by nature a leader of men. His long military experience had made him thoroughly acquainted with the probable action of men in large masses. His practice as a lawyer and his judicial mind made men accept his well-matured opinions and follow his advice and counsel.

The town of Lenox was then one of the most remote and inaccessible places in the State. The beauty of its scenery and the legends of the hills surrounding it have been described many times. The hills, ponds, and rivers were more attractive then than now, because more natural. The autumn foliage was very beautiful before the maples, and trees of like character, which were then very abundant, had been cut off.

When order was restored General Paterson resumed the practice of his profession, which had been interrupted during the Rebellion. Most public matters were talked over and well digested in his office before they were discussed in town meeting. As Lenox was the county town, the courts were held there, which made it the prominent business center of the county. The sessions of the courts brought lawyers and judges from all parts of the State, many of whom had been officers in the Revolutionary army or in Shays' Rebellion; and for them, as well as for other prominent citizens, General Paterson's office was the general *rendezvous*. The reputation as a lawyer which he had gained from the legal opinions he had given in the many courts-martial over which he had either presided or been a member of, and his well-earned reputation for legal accuracy, had followed him into civil life. His time was divided between his practice in the courts and his endeavor to induce his clients to settle their disputes outside of them.

On August 11, 1785, his eldest daughter, Hannah, married Major Egleston, who had enlisted in his regiment in 1775 and had been on his staff during Shays' Rebellion. On January 3, 1778, his eldest son, John Lee, married the eldest daughter of his old friend and comrade in arms, Caleb Hyde.

Many families of Revolutionary officers had settled in Lenox and the neighboring towns after the war, and made a most agreeable society. They were intimately acquainted with one

another, and marriages among them were frequent. They were for the most part very cultivated people, well read in the literature of the times, and familiar with all the great English authors. Educational advantages were not then of a high order, but the people soon set themselves to right that. It took but a few years to lay the foundations which afterward made the town the greatest educational center of Berkshire County, and for many years one of the most renowned in the State. 1789-1790

The settlers of Massachusetts were a commercial company, who came out to that colony for the purpose of trading with the Indians. They had their own ideas about religion, and were determined that they would have no "lords over God's heritage," but would have for themselves perfect liberty of conscience. That liberty of conscience, however, meant that every one should think exactly as they did, nor depart from it in one jot or tittle. Toleration was not to be thought of, and no person was allowed to be a freeman or to vote who did not conform in every particular to what they laid down as the rule of that conscience. If the differences were slight, punishment of some kind was visited until the individual should conform, but the penalty for any considerable differences was banishment. Their religious intolerance was far greater than that from which they had suffered at home. And so in the name of liberty they built up an absolute despotism, whose tyranny was so great as to form one of the most curious instances of the kind in all history. What the conscience was to be was determined by the minister and his advisers. If the minister was a powerful man intellectually, there was very little trouble; if his advisers, who together with the minister were the keepers of the State conscience, were stronger than the minister, there was continual theological strife. The ministers were ordinarily settled for a long period, many of them for life. When the minister was not settled, they had what used to be called "stated preaching," which permitted the dismissing of the minister at any time. The State conscience as promulgated by authority was the established religion. It ruled the State, it

1789-1790 dominated the courts, and no decision, if made contrary to what it declared to be true, could be enforced or would be tolerated either by the legislature or by the courts. To this establishment people were admitted by "owning the covenant," and to it everybody, under all conditions, was pledged to pay taxes, and no rights of freemen could be had without that "owning of the covenant." Berkshire County was so remote from the center of this religion, or the State establishment, as it really was, for the established religion of Massachusetts was not abolished until the year 1820, that it knew nothing by experience of the religious tyranny of the early settlers of the colony. The people were more tolerant, and even admitted that differences of opinion were allowable. The "establishment," however, here as elsewhere, was the center of all intellectual life, and around it all important events, whether in the political field or in the family, turned. The first house in Lenox was built in 1750, but the town was not incorporated until 1767. It was not settled until the asperities of the State religion had become somewhat softened, and was so remote from the great centers that, like all frontiers, it was necessary, from the very condition of things, to relax somewhat from a very strict rule.

People in those days went to "meeting"; they did not go to "church." In colonial days nothing which savored of what was called prelacy was tolerated. During the Revolution the members of the Church of England had been very generally loyal to the king. After the Revolution people did not make the distinction between the men and their principles. To be a member of the Church of England was to be disloyal. To worship as a churchman worshiped was to be papistical. They hated and abhorred both. Hence the "meeting-house," and not the "church," was the center of town life. In the early life of the colony the established religion and the state were spoken of as distinct organizations, but they were distinct more in name than in fact. But the "establishment" controlled everything, religious or political. Every one was taxed to support it, whether he believed in it or not. There were no civil rights without membership in it. The pilgrim fathers

suffered everything to obtain their own liberty of conscience, 1789-1790 but they were not willing that any one else should have any such freedom—they must agree with them. They did, in fact, what is often done—acquired their own liberty, and then in matters of belief refused it to any one else, except on condition of accepting theirs. It was not until 1820, when the revised constitution of the State went into effect, that a separation of church and state took place, and every man became free to believe what he chose. In the early days they required confession, not to a priest, but to the whole congregation, but gave no absolution. This practice, from its inherent mischievousness, had then, however, for many years fallen into disuse.

The first day of the week was the Sabbath; the name of Sunday was spurned, as being of heathen origin. The preparation for the Sabbath always began on Saturday morning. Dinner for the next day was cooked and placed in the buttery on the north side of the house, to be eaten cold. Early in the morning Indian meal was put upon the fire to simmer, and was served as hasty-pudding or suppawn, for the evening meal of Saturday, and was put by to cool, and on the Sabbath morning was fried and eaten with molasses for breakfast. The thoroughness of the cooking was such that the meal was healthy and nutritious, and it is still used in some parts of New England. The Sabbath commenced on Saturday evening, which was treated in every respect as part of the holy day. It ended, not at sundown on the next day, but when three stars could be seen in the sky, which would be some time after sundown; the day was then considered as over, after which any boisterous play could be indulged in by the children, out-of-doors. The time on Saturday after sundown was spent in learning or reciting the Westminster Catechism, or in reading such devotional books as the library of the house afforded.

The "meeting-house" was the center of all the social life of the town. Those who lived in the village were but a small proportion of the members who had "joined the covenant." The others lived in a radius from it which was often as great as six to

1789-1790 ten miles. The "Sabbath" services in the meeting-house commenced at half-past ten. Happy the congregation that did not get a sermon of at least an hour or an hour and a half long. The discourses were often metaphysical rather than explanatory; they were imaginative, too, rather than practical. They were divided into heads and subheads, and often ended with "lastly," "finally," and "in conclusion," so that it was no small feat of memory to be able to give with the text a synopsis of the discourse. The text was always demanded of the little children, and both text and synopsis were usually required of the older ones. The elders had to be able to correct any mistakes, so that by constant practice it became a habit, both of old and young, not only to listen attentively, but to retain what they heard. This intellectual feat, which was then so common that it excited no remark, would now be considered as a dangerous experiment for children; but living in the open air, and accustomed to hard physical exercise as they were, it seems only to have made strong intellects instead of weak ones. It developed the habit of close attention over long periods, and a memory capable of acquiring a mass of details in a very short time and retaining them without great mental effort. It became by habit almost second nature. This education—for that it was—produced boys and girls who at the age of twelve years felt themselves capable of discussing the most abstruse theological questions, not always resulting in happiness to themselves. The people so schooled found little difficulty in memorizing the language of the Bible, with which they were very familiar, and also the ideas and the language of the best writers. It made quick, sharp, but not always happy men and women, intellectually the superiors of their descendants, but the model was not a lovely one. When the morning meeting was over the "intermission" followed, which was looked forward to, each week, as the great event. Those who came from a distance in winter brought their foot-stoves and their dinner, and ate it in the meeting-house, which then became a place of social reunion, until the time of the "afternoon meeting." The young formed groups by themselves, and

talked together of what interested them. The men discussed the crop prospects, and interchanged views on subjects religious, political, or social. The goodwives gossiped to their hearts' content over their affairs, and by the time the "afternoon meeting" was to commence they had talked themselves, one and all, "into a frame of mind" to listen to another sermon an hour to an hour and a half long. Habit incapacitated them from thinking of anything else. In the summer, during the intermission the young people went into the graveyard, or on to the Ledge or Pinnacle for a walk; the very young ones remained in the graveyard, which was next the meeting-house, and played among the gravestones without noise. The graveyard was "hired out" to the highest bidder annually for pasturage, and in their play they had to be careful not to run against some horse, pig, sheep, cow, or calf, which had the legal right there. Brambles were the rule there, and they had to be careful not to tear their clothes on them. Their play was very quiet. It was the only condition of their being out-of-doors. No demonstrative play was allowed on the Sabbath until three stars could be distinctly seen. When the "afternoon discourse" was finished, those who came from a distance went back to their homes. For those in the village there was a prayer-meeting at five, which ended the religious services of the day.

The churchyard and the walks near it were the delightful resorts of both young and old. The sometimes quaint inscriptions on the gravestones were read over and over again. They never lost their interest, though they were learned by heart from constant reading. The view from the churchyard, which must remain beautiful for all time, was ever fresh. It was even more beautiful then than now, though still one of the most attractive in the town. Our ancestors had brought with them from England a most beautiful and devotional custom of burying their dead with their feet to the east, so that when our blessed Lord appeared on the resurrection morning there should be no backs turned toward Him, but all should rise to face Him when he appeared in His glory. Puritanism never did away with the custom, and it is only within comparatively

1789-1790 recent years, since "improvements" and "higher criticism" have undermined the spiritual, that this devout and beautiful custom has been done away with.

The social life was very simple. There were literary gatherings for the reading or recitation of selections from the best authors. As books were few, scrap-books were plenty. Some of them, beautifully written, with original pieces as well as selections, are still in good preservation. Young people competed with one another in committing to memory long extracts from the best English literature. The community were as familiar with Shakespeare as with the Bible. Such an education could not fail to produce a high polish of style, though to us it seems somewhat stilted.

The postal facilities were small. Letters were long, but they read more like essays prepared for a magazine than the extemporized efforts of an hour. Men addressed their parents and wives, and lovers their sweethearts, in language that was in the most stilted style of English, which, though it doubtless expressed to them all that the heart could desire of duty, affection, or love, seems to us as we read it now not to be likely to excite any such emotions.

Music was cultivated everywhere. Each town had its singing-school and its singing-master. Young people came together to learn to sing by note and to cultivate their voices. Serenades were very frequent; they were both vocal and instrumental. Open-air performances were quite common. Some of the more musically ambitious would on summer evenings go to what was then called "the grove," a small clump of trees near the foot of the Court-house Hill, and when the wind was toward the town, climb the trees and discourse sweet music from them, which could be distinctly heard in the town. It was simple, good, whole-souled, and natural, and gave a pleasure which we, accustomed to what is more artificial, can hardly imagine. But the great musical organization was the village choir. Sometimes it was more ambitious than successful, but it always "praised God, from whom all blessings flow," with the heart, though the fiddle or the bass-viol bow did some-

times make discordant sounds. The leader of the choir was an important man, but the most important in his own estimation, then as now, was the man with the bass viol. Organs were not known, and the choir, usually a large one, composed of almost every one in the village who had a good voice, was accompanied by such musical instruments as the village could furnish, the number depending not so much on the balancing of the music as the number of persons who could play the flute, fife, clarionet, or stringed instrument. Brass instruments were rarely seen. The singing was usually good. It was almost without exception congregational, or at least all the congregation joined in it. How ambitious it was depended on a variety of circumstances, and among these, what the choir-master thought they could perform, and what the minister would allow. This kind of choir has almost entirely passed away in New England, except, perhaps, in towns remote from railroads, and has been replaced by much more artificial methods. The people now want "culture" in music as in everything else, but it is doubtful whether they "praise God" as well, certainly not so much from the heart, as when every one had the opportunity of helping in that praise. No such thing as devotional music confined to the choir, in which the congregation had no part except to listen, was known.

The amusements for the young were about the same then as now. "The one-horse shay" and the gig with C springs have long passed into history. Many a happy drive was taken in these vehicles. It is doubtful whether the long journeys into the other parts of the county or into neighboring counties or States, though made in less time, are now made any more comfortably. Every saddle had its "pillion." It was hard for the horse, but delightful for the young people, who "for the sake of the horse" could go as few miles in as many hours as was pleasing for them. When the journey was to be long, the saddle-bags, which contained everything, from a change of clothes and refreshment for the journey to part of a farrier's outfit, was an important adjunct.

The games of the boys were very much then what they are

1789-1790 now in summer, except that base-ball was a simple game of real enjoyment, and that in foot-ball, the ball was actually kicked, and not moved in any other way. The old game of wicket, which for years was so very popular, seems to have died out entirely. The town had three ponds, they call them lakes now, Little Pond, in the town itself, Big Pond, on the Stockbridge road, and Scott's pond, on the road to Lee. Besides these, the swamp on the west side of the town was always overflowed and frozen in winter. These ponds gave abundant fishing for pickerel and other fresh-water fish, which were caught through the ice in winter and from row-boats in the summer. There was plenty of game of all kinds in their season. In the winter sleigh-riding was the principal amusement of both old and young, and "sliding down-hill" the joy of the children. It is called "coasting" now, and is a much less natural and healthful amusement. Sleds were not to be bought; they were made. The one with the greatest speed gave the greatest joy. The Court-house Hill and the Meeting-house Hill were full of boys and girls on proper days, enjoying this exhilarating and healthful sport. But there were drifts and snow-crusts which would not bear the runners of the sleds, and for them "the jumper," the pride of the boy who could make it, was used. It consisted of two flour-barrel staves nailed on to a piece of board, and a string fastened to a nail to hold it by. It could be supported on a very thin crust, but if there was any projection the jumper, as it was not more than three inches high, would be sure to catch it, when it would remain behind, and the boy with his acquired velocity would shoot on, to his intense joy, until friction or some other obstacle stopped him, and then he would have to run, to his heart's delight, to catch his jumper, which, released from its burden, would speed on before him.

The village life was healthful and natural. The houses had open fireplaces; the drum stove had not been invented. Wood was used exclusively for fuel. There was plenty of ventilation, no over-heated air; for even when the windows were stuffed with cotton or covered with sand-bags, and the

fireplaces in the bedrooms filled up, air would come in. The life was out-of-doors, and so our ancestors grew up in the New England villages, men and women ready to grapple with the ills, and fully prepared to enjoy the good things, of this life. 1789-1790

The domestic life was of the simplest description. Families were self-dependent; while the men worked the farm or looked after their out-door affairs, the women not only attended to their ordinary household duties, but knit, spun, and wove into fabrics such homespun articles as were necessary for the family use. It seems wonderful that they were able to do so much; but they systematized their time, and were never idle when well. As their life was so natural their health was strong, and nervous diseases were not common. With all their household duties and work they never forgot to cultivate and maintain that grace which characterizes ladies. The evenings were spent in some kind of recreation, which was usually of an intellectual character. Great beauty, both of face and character, was not uncommon, as is shown by some of the miniatures which have come down to us. Foremost among them were Mrs. Paterson, her daughters, and granddaughters.

Military matters were not neglected. General Paterson took the liveliest interest in the organization of companies in the villages and of regiments by the union of companies. He saw that they were properly uniformed and drilled. He inspired the soldiers not only with proper military spirit, but with patriotic ardor. He endeavored to maintain discipline among them just as much as if each regiment might be called in the afternoon to march into action at sunrise the next morning, as his own regiment had done. Muster-day was the great day of the year, and to prepare for it the young men "trained" weekly during the spring, summer, and fall, the mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts doing their best to have the young men they were interested in have as imposing an appearance as possible. Every young man in the town old enough to bear arms joined a company and drilled on the village green preparatory to the "muster," which was made to be as much like a real camp as possible. Fires were lighted,

1789-1790 sentinels posted, watchwords were given, and all things conducted as though the enemy was near and an attack was liable to be made at any time. Alarms were given at all times of day and night, and for the time of the muster it looked like real war. Most of the officers had seen service, and those who had not were never tired of hearing, over the camp-fires, of "how we beat the British." Patriotic songs were sung, and the principles of true heroism were imbibed by the young men by hearing over their camp-fires on these occasions the story of the sacrifices made by the Revolutionary army, how they fought to redress wrongs, and of the feats of bravery of men then living, and perhaps in camp with them. No opportunity was lost of inculcating on the young men the duty of each one to defend his country in times of danger, and never to submit to oppression lest they should lose the right to be freemen. Patriotism was taught to be the noblest of civic virtues. The only music at these "musters" was the fife and the drum, to the notes of which the old men would straighten up and march like young ones, and the younger men would put all the military fire in their faces and steps that they were capable of, and look for the smiling admiration of their ladies.

The fathers talked the battles over before the children, who listened with eager ears, and, not to be behind their elders, organized companies with paper hats and epaulets, with wooden swords and guns, and such accouterments as their mothers' store-chests could furnish, and marched with such precision as they could. They had many a pitched battle with one another, taking sides, in which the British were, by common consent, beaten; and when they were not, there were storms of words, and "No fair play!" and "I won't play any more." It was a foregone conclusion that the British must be beaten, and if they were not, there could be no fair play in it. The great ambition of every boy was to become old enough to put on a real uniform and to be a soldier. The boys were not less patriotic than the men, and formed no small part of the admiring and appreciating crowd which assembled on the muster-days. When they were angry with one another their

most opprobrious epithet was to call one another "a redcoat," 1791 in allusion to the hated British uniform, or "a Hessian," which meant a menial hired to do dirty work. So the next generation grew up, patriotic, dearly loving their country, sure that they had rights, certain of what they were, and ready to defend them, as they afterward did in the War of 1812. This spirit never died out. It looked for some years before the late War of the Rebellion as if it had become dormant, but when the call came for volunteers to defend the nation, Berkshire County in general, and Lenox in particular, were quick to obey the call. Lenox has its heroes of the Revolution, of the War of 1812, and of the Rebellion.

General Paterson had come to Lenox with three little children, one son and two daughters. Four other children, one boy and three girls, had been born to him there, and one of the daughters had died in infancy. His daughter Polly, a beautiful and accomplished girl, had died at the age of seventeen. His family now consisted of two sons and three daughters. Mrs. Paterson was in every respect a very remarkable woman, and well suited to be the head of his household under all the various conditions of his life.

In the year 1790 General Paterson became one of the proprietors of the "Boston Purchase," which consisted of 230,400 acres in Broome and Tioga counties, New York. This property was west of the Chenango River and Owego Creek. It extended twenty miles north of the Susquehanna River. He therefore decided, in 1791, to remove from Lenox with his family to Broome County, in company with his wife's parents. General Hyde, of Lenox, whose daughter Clarissa had married General Paterson's eldest son, followed him in a very short time. Before leaving Lenox he transferred the house situated on Main Street, on the crest of the Court-house Hill, which he had built when he first settled in that town, to his daughter, Mrs. Eggleston. The journey to Broome County was long and tedious and exceedingly difficult. It was made by passing through Catskill to Bainbridge on the Susquehanna River, where they took boats and descended the river to the present

1791 site of Binghamton, thence up the Chenango and Tionghinoga rivers, to the forks of the latter and the Otselic rivers, to Lisle,* now known as Whitney's Point, in the township of Triangle, where they were the first, or among the first, settlers in the town. The place where he built his house was for a long time known as "Paterson's Settlement." The first religious service in the town was held in his house. There was but one school each winter. The teachers were selected from the families settled in the town. One of General Paterson's sons was the second teacher of the village school. General Paterson was the peer of the ablest in the surrounding country, and was at once called to public service. He was made commissioner of highways for the town of Union, then in Tioga County, in 1792. He was elected assessor in the same year. In the year 1791 that part of Montgomery County which is now embraced in the counties of Broome, Tioga, and Chemung was set off as a county under the name of Tioga County. General Paterson was the first judge and the first representative to the State legislature from the new county. He represented Tioga County for two years—1792, 1793—in the New York State legislature. During that session he was member of the Standing Committee on Grievances and of many of the temporary committees to which matters of importance were referred during the session. Among these were those relating to the internal improvements of the State, to military matters, especially to making the law of the State relating to the militia conform to the law of the United States; for the regulation of the elections for the State and United States officers; for the arrangement of the division of counties; for the formation and setting of the boundaries of new counties; for the improvement of internal navigation; for regulating the administration of the courts of justice; for making new roads in different parts of the State; for arranging in relation to bounties of land granted to soldiers of the Revolutionary War; for

* The town of Lisle as originally laid out included the present townships of Lisle, Baker, and Triangle. Whitney's Point is a village in the township of Triangle.

the vesting of glebe lands in the legal authorities of the different churches. There were not as many committees in those days as now in the legislature, the entire number at this session being four. Matters were referred to special rather than to general committees. General Paterson was also very efficient in securing the services of proper persons for both civil and military offices and seeing that the qualifications of those recommended were exactly what they should be. He was elected a trustee of Oxford Academy on January 27, 1794. In 1796 he was made assessor and commissioner of schools. On March 27, 1798, he was appointed to the bench and was chief-justice of the county of Tioga. He was in 1801 a member of the convention called to amend the constitution of the State of New York. 1794-1806

General Paterson was elected to the United States Congress in 1802 from Tioga County, and served from October 7, 1803, until March 3, 1805. In Congress he was the same active, untiring, efficient man that he had been during the war. He was a member of some of the most important committees of the House, supporting and defending the claims of the Revolutionary soldiers, endeavoring to put the currency of the country on a sound financial basis, studying and advocating the best way to establish and regulate the mints and the coinage of the country, looking after the construction of the public buildings, arranging treaties with other countries, and trying to throw some order into the commercial affairs of the nation by the passing of a proper bankruptcy law, and to do away with imprisonment for debt. He was always looking after the interest of the soldiers, and he never forgot that the country he had served so long, both before and during the war, needed the best service that he could render after the war, and he rendered it as only a patriot of his convictions and ability could. Upon retiring from Congress he returned to his duties on the bench.

On April 2, 1806, the county of Broome was set off from Tioga County. On May 13, 1806, he was made chief-justice of Broome County, his term of service ending with his life. The

1806 district has since been divided into several counties. There were but few public conveyances in those days, and he and General Erastus Root, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of New York, representing the Delaware district, which, with the Tioga district, then composed nearly one third of the State, used to meet at the great bend on the Susquehanna and go through the woods as far as Harrisburg on their way to Congress, and make the most of the journey to Washington on horseback.

General Paterson was six feet one and a half inches in height, and well proportioned, of graceful carriage and commanding mien. He was a nervous, quick, active man, and a great pedestrian. While county judge, he would often walk eighteen miles to Binghamton to hold his court, rather than go to the field and catch a horse to ride. While in the army he excelled as a drill officer. He was diffident, retiring in habits, never putting himself forward or importuning for place. Duty was first with him, and whether he received censure or praise for doing it, it always had the force of law with him. In all his relations he maintained the strictest interpretation of probity and honor, and he never forgot that he was a gentleman. He was a man of varied accomplishments, of great scholarly attainments, was prominent as a lawyer, an eminent and an upright judge, was much respected as a useful and worthy citizen, always alive to his own duty while seeking to help others, and he consequently held many offices of trust. He was as just as a judge as he had been active and efficient as an army officer. Although a very large land-holder, General Paterson never became wealthy in his new home, but he was revered by his neighbors and looked up to as well qualified both to advise and lead in public matters. The historian of New Britain, Connecticut, from which locality he removed to Lenox, says that, "judging from the honorable offices bestowed on General Paterson, he was in these respects the most distinguished man ever reared there." Those who knew General Paterson well, some of whom were with him in the army, say that history might truly set forth his merits in a very strong light as an accomplished gentle-

1792 enlisted at Pittsfield in General Paterson's regiment, and was with him during the whole war, and afterward in Shays' Rebellion. After the war they settled in Lenox, and when General Paterson left there he transferred to Mrs. Egleston the house which he had built and had occupied with his family, which is now owned by his great-grandson, Thomas Egleston, of New York. He left the army as paymaster of the First Massachusetts regiment, with the line rank of lieutenant and the staff rank of major. After the war he was several times appointed major in the Massachusetts militia. He was made justice of the peace in Lenox in the year 1787, and held the office continually until 1815. He was elected representative to the General Court (House of Representatives) in 1796, 1797, 1798, and 1799, and was State senator in 1807, 1808, and 1809. In 1808 he was made associate justice of the Court of Sessions, which office he held until 1815. Egleston Square in Roxbury, near Boston, is named after him. He was a liberal patron of education. He founded the Lenox Academy, which for many years was the prominent educational institution in western Massachusetts. He organized the parish of Trinity Church in Lenox, and helped to educate its first rector and to have him ordained in England. He was noted through the State for his hospitality, liberality, and public spirit and benevolence. Mrs. Egleston died January 21, 1803. He died January 12, 1822.* They had seven children, five daughters and two sons.

(3) *Polly Paterson.*

She was born in Farmington in 1773, and died in Lenox, August 19, 1790. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished young ladies of her day. She died at the age of

shortly after General Paterson, and was always very intimate with his family both at Lenox and Lisle. After his removal to New York State he was elected major-general of the State Militia. He was senator at Albany in 1803. His wife died at Lisle, January 6, 1806. He died at Lisle, December 25, 1820.

* A biographical notice of Major Egleston was published in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, July, 1892.

seventeen years, and is interred in the Lenox cemetery, next 1792 to the remains of her sister, Mrs. Eggleston.

(4) *Ruth Paterson.*

She was born in Lenox, August 6, 1774; she was married in Lenox, November 14, 1797, to Ira Seymour, who was born in Richmond, Mass., March 18, 1776, the son of David and Lucy (Alvord) Seymour. She died at Whitney's Point, February 10, 1842. He died in Schuyler County, Ill., September 29, 1866. They had nine children, six daughters and three sons.

(5) *Betsy Paterson.*

Born in Lenox in 1784, and died in infancy.

(6) *John Peirce Paterson.*

He was born in Lenox, May 5, 1787. He married at Lisle, July 22, 1809, Sally Osborne, who was born in Richmond, Mass., July 22, 1786, the daughter of William and Dorcas Osborne. They removed to Ogden, near Rochester, N. Y., in 1812, and lived there until 1840, when they removed to Illinois. He died in Peoria County, Ill., on the La Salle Prairie, fifteen miles north of Peoria City, June 3, 1842. She died in Birmingham, Schuyler County, Ill., in May, 1847. While in Ogden he was sheriff of the county and member of the legislature, and a presidential elector. They had one son and one daughter.

(7) *Maria Paterson.*

She was born in Lenox, February 9, 1790. She was married at Lisle, April 10, 1808, to Samuel Kilborn, who was born in Litchfield, Conn., November 27, 1783, son of David and Deidama Kilborn. They lived in Spencerport, Monroe County, N. Y. He died January 31, 1862. She died April 23, 1865, at Ogden, N. Y. They had nine children, five sons and four daughters.

(For a list of General Paterson's descendants, see Appendix H.)

1792 General Paterson died very suddenly in the vigor of manhood and in the pursuit of duty, and with a profound love to the country he so ably defended. From the year 1766, when he was made justice of the peace in Farmington, to the day of his death, he always filled some important public position, and in each one of the three States in which he lived he was invariably a leading spirit. He was everywhere trusted in whatever capacity he acted, and honored by his countrymen with whatever positions they had to bestow. He was not a politician, but an honest, able, generous, and high-minded citizen. When not engaged in a military capacity he was always active in civic positions; but public work never made him forget private duties. He was as good a husband and father as he had been conscientious in the discharge of public duties. He was buried at Lisle, and no monument of any kind, except a small headstone, had, up to 1892, ever been placed over his remains. His wife died on July 8, 1841, at Spencerport, N. Y., at the home of her youngest daughter, Mrs. Maria Kilborn, at the age of ninety-two years, from dropsy, produced by fracture of the head of the femur, and was buried in the cemetery there. In her own sphere she was as remarkable as her husband. She not only brought up her family well, but she graced every position to which her husband was called, and always stood at his right hand to help him carry out any of his plans. For fifty-one years they were separated in death, as they never had been in life. In May, 1892, his remains and those of his wife, which had been buried at some distance from him, were reinterred with appropriate ceremonies in the cemetery at Lenox, beside their two daughters, and a monument of polished Quincy granite erected in the town, opposite to his house, and beautiful headstones put up in the cemetery by Thomas Egleston.* He was among the foremost of the Revolutionary patriots and soldiers of Massachusetts. Lieutenant-Governor Rockwell, in speaking of him in his oration at the Centennial in Lenox, says that "in preparing this oration, and

* For a full account of the unveiling ceremonies see Appendix H.

examining as far as possible into the life of General Paterson, 1792 I feel impressed that he had been a most important aid and adviser to Washington, and was in every way qualified to take the place of his chief in case of emergency." He was one of the most efficient of the Revolutionary officers, and one of the most trusted officers of Washington to the end of the war. Very few of Washington's officers could show such a record as his* during his activity, and when his post of duty became the "hated Highlands," he served his country in the tedious duty of watching the enemy with as much zeal and fidelity as if he had had all the excitement of an active campaign. The only public memorials of him were, up to 1892, in one of the five tablets surrounding the base of the monument in commemoration of the battle of Monmouth in Freehold, in the State of New Jersey (see p. 106), where he is represented as taking an active part in the council of war, and the tablet erected in 1887 in Trinity Church, Lenox.†

The Hon. Thomas J. Paterson, of Rochester, N. Y., General Paterson's grandson, in a letter dated July 6, 1878, apologizing for the neglect of General Paterson's memory, says: "You say truly it is singular that children are so neglectful in keeping records of even distinguished ancestors. Yet it should be recollected that we are all sovereigns, and, in our estimation, peers of the best of them, and venerate in consequence of this, much less than other people, our ancestors. Everything is new with us, and soon fades and passes away. We have no ancestral halls, hung around with armorial bearings, to awaken recollections of an honored ancestry and strengthen love of country, or temples devoted to the service of the ever-living God, moss-grown and ivied, where the son has worshiped in the place of the father from generation to generation, which are fast anchors. We are a wandering people. The sun that lights up our birth scarcely shines upon the land of our rest. We pause for a moment at the tomb of our ancestors and pay a tributary tear, then pass forgetfully away. Our American ship of state may have to ride for many generations over

* See Appendix G.

† See page 225.

1792 boisterous seas without these anchors, yet it is to be hoped the virtue and intelligence of the people will prevent the shipwreck of liberty."

General Paterson was a tireless and undaunted patriot, never for a moment losing heart in the cause of American independence, sharing with his soldiers in suffering and privation "without murmuring" all that his country was called upon to endure in the cause of liberty from the beginning to the close of the war. No man in New England was more actively engaged in bringing about the American Revolution and carrying it to a successful conclusion than he was, and very few officers were more closely identified with the cause of American independence.* He served the country continuously during the eight years and a half of the War of the Revolution, although it cost him the sacrifice of most of his fortune. He thought, after the trial of André, that he should be obliged to surrender his commission on that account, as he had expended so much of his property in the cause of independence. General Washington was intimate with him, and respected him as a patriot on whom both his commander-in-chief and his country could rely. He was one of the greatest heroes which Berkshire County has produced.

Governor Rockwell, in his eloquent Centennial Celebration address at Lenox, July 4, 1876, speaks of General Paterson as follows: "The regiment was concerned in the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga in October, 1777. When the regiment arrived at Newtown it had only 220 men, but, fellow-citizens, this was the fate of most of the early regiments, and herein consists the great merit of those officers and men. They suffered, sickened, and died that we might live in America under American government, its power limited and its officers elected by the people, under the best government, beyond all question, upon the face of the earth. . . . It may fairly be claimed that General Paterson was among the very foremost of the soldiers of Berkshire. If he had died in Lenox, it would have been resolved that he was worthy a public monument,

* See Appendix G.

and that subject is worthy of consideration now (1876)." "The United States," says Webster, "commenced their existence under circumstances wholly novel and unexampled in the history of nations. They began with civilization, with learning, with all that was then known of science, with the constitution of a free government, and with that best gift of God to man, the Christian religion. Their population is now equal to that of England. In arts and sciences our citizens are little behind the most enlightened people on earth. In some respects they have no superiors. Our language, within two centuries, will be spoken by more people in this country than any other language on earth, except the Chinese in Asia. Even that may not be an exception."* This is the direct result of the sacrifices of those Revolutionary heroes.

Speaking of the early history of this country, Gladstone says: "Whenever a youth desirous of the study of political life consults me respecting a study in the field of history, I always refer him to the early history of America. Their system of government combined that love of freedom, respect for law, and desire for order which formed the surest element of national excellence."† General Paterson had much to do not only with the defense of the country, but also with establishing the laws on a proper basis after independence was gained. He had always been on the side of law. As a citizen he upheld it, as a general he enforced it, as a lawyer he defended it, as a judge he interpreted it. As a legislator he bent his energies to have the law so formed as to give equal justice to all. His influence and example were always so used as to make obedience to just laws seem to every one the first duty of a good citizen. As a reviser of the State constitution he laid the foundations so broad that without a determined perversion of justice the law must be righteously administered.

It is impossible to study the history of the American Revolution and the very perilous times between the end of the war and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States,

* Preface to Webster's Dictionary.

† Gladstone's speeches.

1808 during which there was great danger that everything gained by the war would be lost, without seeing that a wise Providence directed every act of those two periods. Our forefathers were essentially a religious people. As a colony long before and as a government after the Revolution they recognized the Creator in all their official acts, and they continued to do so during a large part of the first half of this century. Alas, that this government ever abandoned the practice! This, with many others of the principles of our ancestors, has become undermined by the influx of the people of all the nations of Europe, many of whom form a very dangerous element of our population. If this emigration is not in some way restricted and the laws relating to it modified there is danger that the country will become un-Americanized, and that the religious principle and regard for law which were such prominent features of our early history may disappear. Let us hope that "in God we trust," which is stamped on some of our coins, will be received, in some measure at least, as the recognition due from this government to the Almighty Ruler of all things, and that we may still have the fulfillment of the promise attached to the command, "In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths."*

The first thirty years of General Paterson's life were spent in Connecticut, the following seventeen years, including the period of the Revolution, in Massachusetts, and the last seventeen years of his life in the State of New York. Shortly after his death his dwelling-house and office with all their contents were burned, and his voluminous papers, records, and memoranda were destroyed. This circumstance makes a detailed account of his eventful and interesting life peculiarly difficult. The history of months at a time is frequently lost. No one except a person who has undertaken the task can understand what a labor it is to collect the history of men who were distinguished in their own days, and honored and loved by their countrymen, unless the data has been collated from their own diaries or manuscripts, or gathered within the lives of the

* Proverbs iii. 6.

generation of their contemporaries; but when no such colla- 1808
tion has been made, and when records have been destroyed,
as is the case with many of the Revolutionary soldiers, and
especially of General Paterson, every vestige of whose papers,
manuscripts, and journals was destroyed by the burning of
his house, the task becomes surrounded with the greatest com-
plications. Of General Paterson it is true that in whatever
State, county, or town he lived he was a prominent man. His
life was passed in three States, in each of which he distin-
guished himself; but removing from Massachusetts, the scene
of his most brilliant labors, to an almost unsettled part of
New York State, he died and was buried in an obscure place,
away from those most familiar with his patriotic services; his
grave had been neglected, and his memory had been almost
forgotten. He was also one of the brightest figures in the
early history of the States in which he lived. Although he
was one of those who anticipated the Revolution, prepared
for it, and from the first news of the battle of Lexington
acted the part of a great patriot and a brave soldier, ready
to serve his country in time of war with ability and fidelity,
and filled in time of peace places of great honor, trust, and
responsibility in all three of the States in which he lived,
yet he seems to have been forgotten in all of them, probably
because no one of them could claim an exclusive right to him.
His own journals and records having been destroyed, what has
passed into history has to be collected at almost infinite pains,
from his official camp orders, from the army orderly books
scattered through many libraries, in several States, from Rev-
olutionary records, from the collectors of autographs, histories
of the times,* and the family traditions, which in almost every
case have been supported by some collateral evidence.

It is fitting that public demonstrations should be made, and
that stately monuments of stone should be erected to the na-
tion's patriots. Such testimony influences successive genera-
tions of children as they pass by them on their way to school,
or as they rally round them as goals in their games; it incites

* See Appendix I.

1808 the young men and women who from generation to generation are coming into the activities of life, when they read the epitaphs on these monuments, to have noble aspirations in fulfilling their duty to their Creator, to themselves, their neighbors, the State, and the country, and to try to make the world better for their having lived in it.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

A

THE PATERSON FAMILIES.

THERE were living in Farmington at this time two brothers, William and Edward Paterson, and a sister, Anna. They came from Scotland in 1740, and lived on the same street with Major John Paterson. They introduced into Connecticut the tin industry, which has become such an important article of manufacture in that part of the State. They were probably connections of the Major's family, but exactly what the relations were has not been ascertained. Another William Paterson came to Trenton, N. J., with his father, Richard Paterson, in 1747. He graduated at Princeton in 1763, and studied law. He was a delegate to the Convention of 1787; United States Senator in 1789, but resigned when he was elected Governor and Chancellor of the State of New Jersey, which office he filled for three years. He was then appointed a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and filled the office until he died in 1806. Another family of Paterson came to Billerica, Middlesex County, Mass., twenty miles from Boston, which was settled in 1650. Still another settled in Baltimore. This last family was still in communication with the families of the same name which resided near New Britain in the early part of this century. All of these families were Scotch, and came to this country within a few years of each other. I have not been able to trace the connection between these five families, though every indication points to the fact that they were related. Republicanism was so intense after the Revolution that papers were destroyed as valueless which would now be priceless. Armorial bearings which would have been a clue were discarded. When they were again adopted they were often taken from Burke's "Peerage," and sometimes were ignorantly altered, so as to become rather a source of confusion in tracing relationships; while, when not too much altered, they point to the general family relation with certainty. A number of such pictures have been examined without the possibility of tracing the connection which it is believed exists.

B

WILL OF MAJOR PATERSON.

(From original on file in the Probate Office, Hartford.)

In the Name of God, Amen, the Eleventh Day of May in the year of our Lord 1759, I John Paterson, of Farmington in the County of Hartford and Colony of Connecticut in New England, being by the providence of God Called to Serve my King and Country in the present Intended Expedition against our Northern Enemies the French, being of Sound and perfect mind and memory, Blessed be God therefor. Calling to mind the Danger of martiall life and the Mortallity of my body, Knowing that it is appointed for men once to Die: Do Make and ordain this my last Will and Testament—that is to say Principally and first of all I give and Recommend my Soul into the hands of God who gave it, hoping for the pardon of all my Sins and the grace of God to Eternall life only through Christ Jesus my Glorious Redeemer, And my Body I Commit to the Earth to be buried in decent Christian Burial, at the Discretion of my Executor hereafter Mentioned, nothing Doubting but at the Generall Resurrection I shall receive the Same again by the Mighty power of God.—And as Touching Such worldly goods and Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me in this life, I give and Dispose of the Same in the following maner and form viz. + Imprimis to my dearly beloved Wife Ruth Paterson I give and bequeath to her and to her heirs and assigns forever the one half of a lot of land I bought of Sergt. Ebenezer Smith in the Sixth Division of land west of the Reserved land in Farmington and also all my Right in the Common and undivided land in Farmington part of which is already drawn for, and all my Personall Estate except my Negro Girl Rose, After my Just Debts are duly Discharged and paid, And also the use of what I shall give to my Son John Paterson in this Instrument untill he shall arrive at the age of Twenty one years, and the use and Improvement of the one half during her life and she to be at the Cost of my son John's Education at Colledge.

Item: to my Daughter Mary the wife of John Peirce of Litchfield I give and bequeath to her, her heirs and assigns forever the one half of a Tract of land Lying in the Parish of New Cambridge in Farmington which I bought of Aaron Aspinwall, and a tract of land Lying in the Township of Harwington in Litchfield County, which I bought of Joseph Curtiss.—Item: I give to my daughter Sarah the wife of James Lusk of Farmington, to her heirs and assigns I give and bequeath forever the House which they now live in, the Barn and home lot on which sd. Buildings Stand with other the appurtenances thereof, and five acres of land I bought

of Joseph Hart Junr. and Seven acres of land Lying in the near Meadow which I bought of Joseph Kellogg of New Hartford, and also all my right in the fourth Alotment in the first division of land West of ye reserved Land Containing one hundred acres, all which lands Lye in the bounds of the Township of Farmington.—Item: to my Daughter Ann the wife of the Reverend Stephen Holmes of [Saybrook crossed out] I give and bequeath to her and to her heirs and assigns forever the other half of that Tract of land in New Cambridge which I bought of Aaron Aspinwall, and my Negro girl Rose.—Item: to my Daughter Ruth Paterson I give and bequeath to her and to her heirs and assigns forever all that land which I now own which was David Curtiss' land lying West of Robert Woodruff's home-lot and buting South with the Remaining part of my Farm, West and north with highways, and in case she do not marry I give her the Improvement of one fourth part of my dwelling house, and one fourth part of one of my Barns.—Item: I give unto my Son John Paterson and to his heirs and assigns forever I give and bequeath the Remaining part of my Farm, which I now live on with the buildings Standing thereon and all other appurtenances thereof and five acres of Land in Weathersfield, which I bought of Joseph Kellogg of Weathersfield.—And I do hereby ordain, Make, and appoint my Wife Ruth Paterson to be Executrix, and my Son in Law John Peirce of Litchfield to be my Executor to this my last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the Day and year above written, Signed, Sealed, Pronounced and Declared by the Said John Paterson as his last Will and Testament in presence of us Witnesses

JNO. PATERSON

SAMUEL NEWELL

TIMOTHY PITKIN

EBENEZER SMITH

{ Exhibited in Court
 { Hartford, October 25, 1762.
 XIX. 70.

C

BOND OF MAJOR PATERSON AS PAYMASTER.*

Know all men by these Presents that we John Patterson and David Andrews both of Torrington in the County of Hartford are holden and firmly do stand bound and obliged unto the Governor and Company of his Majesties English Colony of Connecticut in New England in the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds Lawfull money of the said Colony to be paid to the said Governor and Company to the which payment well and truly to

* Presented to me by W. R. Benjamin of New York.

be made and done we the said John Patterson & David Andrews do bind ourselves our Heirs Executors and administrators Joyntly and Severally firmly by these Presents

Sealed with our Seals Dated at Hartford this 2^d Day of April Anno Domini 1762

The Condition of the above Obligation is such that whereas the said John Patterson hath undertaken to act as Paymaster to a certain Company of Foot Soldiers to be raised to serve under him and under the Superior Command of Sir Jeffrey Amherst the ensuing Campaign and in his Majesties Service in the pay of this Government now if the said John Patterson Pay-master as aforesaid shall well and truly perform & discharge his said trust and office and without any unnecessary or unreasonable delay well and truly pay and render to the Severall officers and Soldiers of said Company all such sum or sums of money as on settlement of their accounts shall appear due and payable to them respectively and as he shall have orders from ye Pay Table to receive out of the Publick Treasury then and in such Case the above Obligation shall be void otherwise shall remain in full Power and Virtue in the Law

Signed Sealed & Dd. in
presence of

JOHN LEDYARD
JANE ELLERY

JNO PATERSON (Seal)
DAVID ANDREWS (Seal)

(Indorsed on outside)

MAJOR JOHN PATERSON
Military Bond 1762.*

D

PART OF THE SUBSCRIPTION LIST TO BUILD THE COURT- HOUSE IN LENOX.†

We the subscribers do hereby promise and oblige ourselves our Heirs and administrators to pay Mr. Henry William Dwight Treasurer of the County of Berkshire or his successor in said office the sum affixed to our names respectively upon condition that the Court House and Gaol are built in the Town of Lenox according to the present Law of this Commonwealth said payments to be made by us respectively in such materials and Labour as may be necessary for erecting said buildings and in such

* This document is indorsed "Major John Paterson Military Bond 1762," and was signed after he had been appointed a captain in the royal service.

† The rest of this list cannot, owing to the age of the paper, be deciphered.

Witness our hands this 24th of September, 1784 :

I John Whitlock hereby fully give the Lands I agreed to with this Comitty for setting the Statue for the Public Boundary in Lenox if the Buildings should be set on the ground where the Statue was set, Together with Twenty Pounds to be paid, as witness my hand

(3), paid Daniel Fellows three pounds paid in full.
 (5), Charles Mattoon, Five pounds Rec'd in full April 18, 1788.
 July 31, 1789, Elias Judd, two pounds Rec'd in full.
 July 31, 1789, Joseph Allen, one pound Rec'd in full.
 John Hewitt, Three Pound Rec'd in full.
 July 31, 1789, Seth Bateman, three Pound Rec'd in full.
 July 31, 1789, Elisha Pickney, 1 pound Rec'd in full.

This is one of the subscription lists, a few names following which are illegible.

E

APPOINTMENT OF MAJOR-GENERALS.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR, BY THE SECRETARY,
JUNE 7, 1786.*

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives :

The Major Generals chosen for the several divisions of the militia have respectively accepted the choice and commissions have in consequence of it been sent to them viz :

To Major General Benjamin *Lincoln*, of the first division, comprehending the county of *Suffolk*.

To Major General *Titcomb*, of the second division, comprehending the county of *Essex*.

To Major General *Brooks*, of the third division, comprehending the county of *Middlesex*.

To Major General *Shepard*, of the fourth division, comprehending the county of *Hampshire*.

To Major General *Cobb*, of the fifth division, comprehending the counties of *Plymouth*, *Barnstable*, *Bristol*, *Dukes County*, and *Nantucket*.

To Major General *Goodwin*, of the sixth division, comprehending the counties of *York* and *Cumberland*.

To Major General *Wamer*, of the seventh division, comprehending the county of *Worcester*.

To Major General *Lithgow*, of the eighth division, comprehending the county of *Lincoln*.

To Major General *Patterson*, of the ninth division, comprehending the county of *Berkshire*.

F

DEFENSE OF GENERAL PATERSON.

In House of Representatives, March 5, 1787.

Whereas reports have been circulated respecting the conduct of Major-General Paterson whilst commanding a corps of militia in the County of Berkshire in February last, injurious to that officer, and whereas the dignity of the Government, as well as of Major-General Paterson, requires an investigation of the facts relative to this matter ; therefore

* Massachusetts Resolves, vol. vii., p. 18.

Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be and he is hereby requested to order a Court of Inquiry to be instituted for the purpose of ascertaining the merit or demerit of Major-General Paterson whilst commanding a corps of militia of the Commonwealth, called forth to suppress the late insurrection and rebellion, and that such further proceedings be adopted as in the opinion of His Excellency may be requisite for supporting the honor of Government, and for doing justice to the said officer.

Sent up for concurrence in Senate, March 5, 1787.

ARTEMUS WARD, Speaker.

Read and non-concurred.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Jun. President.*

(Letter from camp to a friend.)

PITTSFIELD, MASS., February 12, 1787.

General Paterson, you have heard, was suspected of doing wrong in making a treaty. We find that the report was ill founded and that he did all he was at that time authorized to do. He ordered Major Wiley, who commanded the rebels, to disperse his people immediately or he would fire upon them. Wiley immediately ordered his people to disperse, which they did. Wiley then requested General Paterson to promise his exertions in favor of himself and people with the Government that they might be tried for their conduct in this county. The General promised he would, but they must expect nothing more, for he could not give them any other assurance than his own personal recommendation, as he had no authority to do any such thing. I believe the affair has been represented very much to his disadvantage. He had not received any information of their being declared in a state of rebellion.†

G

DIARY OF THE SERVICES OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN PATERSON.

(Compiled from the American Archives, Journals of the Provincial Congresses, Orderly-books and Muster-rolls at Worcester and Boston, Manuscripts in the State House in Boston, Yale, and Connecticut in the Revolution.)

- 1774. May Great and General Court.
- 1774. July 6 Berkshire Convention at Stockbridge, Mass.
- 1774. October 7 First Continental Congress, Salem, Mass.

* Massachusetts Archives, vol. exc., p. 140.

† *Worcester Magazine*, vol. ii., No. 47.

1775. February 1...Second Continental Congress, Cambridge, Mass.
1775. MayReturns of Field-officer Colonel John Paterson.
Lists of captains, ensigns, and lieutenants. (David Noble was one of the captains and A. Egleston was in his company.)
1775. May 26.....List of officers in Colonel Paterson's returns.
1775. May 26....."To the Hon. Provincial Congress. Colonel Paterson having satisfied this committee that his regiment is nearly full, we recommend to the Hon. Congress that said regiment be commissioned accordingly. Wm. Cooper, Secretary."
1775. June 9.....Cambridge. Consignment of arms to Colonel Paterson.
1775. June 10.....Cambridge.
1775. June 30.....A petition sent to Congress by Colonel Paterson asking for blankets for soldiers.
1775. July 10.....Colonel Paterson's regiment reports one wounded at Bunker Hill.
1775. July 22.....Headquarters at Cambridge. Colonel Paterson will remain at Post No. 3, by order of General Washington.
1775. August 18...Cambridge. Colonel Paterson's regiment, total, 506.
1775. September 23.Cambridge. Colonel Paterson's regiment, total, 445.
1775. October 3Colonel Paterson's regiment, total, 445.
1775. October 6Continental 26th regiment of foot, Colonel John Paterson, of Lenox.
1775. October 17 ...Cambridge.
1775. November 2..Headquarters Cambridge. To select colonels for command in new regiments.
1775. December 30 .Cambridge. Colonel Paterson's regiment, total, 459.
1776. January 8....Cambridge.
1776. January 15...Returns of Colonel Paterson.
1776. January 24...In Barracks on Prospect Hill.
1776. February 19..Cambridge. Colonel Paterson's regiment returned ammunition.
1776. April 15.....Returns of Colonel Paterson's regiment in New York.
1776. MayFour regiments (Poor's, Paterson's, Greateon's, and Bond's) by order of Congress detached to Canada.
1776. May 24.....First brigade, Poor, Paterson, Greateon, and Bond, arrived at Albany on their way to Canada.
1776. June 2.....Montreal. Colonel Paterson's list of prisoners in his regiment at battle of the Cedars.
1776. July 22.....Ticonderoga.

1777. January 1 to "Continental service of General Paterson. By
Dec. 31, 1779. service from January, 1777, to December 31, 1779,
is 36 months and — days, for which a nominal
sum has been paid him by the continent.
"One month and 20 days as colonel and 34
months and 10 days as brigadier-general.
"By service from January 1, 1780, to Decem-
ber 31st, is 12 months, at 37 pounds 10 shillings
per month, as brigadier-general."
1777. February 21..Date of commission as brigadier-general.
1777. March 26.....Colonel John Paterson in list of commissioned offi-
cers.
1778. June 28.....Monmouth, under General Washington.
1778. December 6..at Peekskill.
1779. May 27at Peekskill.
1779. September ...at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1779. October.....at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1779. November ...at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1779. December....at West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. Januaryat West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. Februaryat West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. Marchat West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. Aprilat West Point (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. April 29.....with two companies at Fishkill (3d Massachusetts
Brigade).
1780. May 6at Fishkill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. Juneat Fishkill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. Julyat Fishkill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. Augustat Peekskill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. September ...at Peekskill (3d Massachusetts Brigade).
1780. September 16 at Steenrapie, N. J.
1780. September 20 and 23, at Orangetown, N. Y.
1780. October 8at Fishkill, N. Y.
1780. November 12 at Totoway, N. J.
1780. December....at Huts, West Point.
1781. January 1....at New Windsor.
1781. Januaryat West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. Februaryat West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. Marchat West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. Aprilat West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. Mayat West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. Juneat West Point Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
1781. July.....Order of battle. Camp Philipsburg, near Dobbs'
Ferry. "From Peekskill the troops returned
down toward New York and took position at

Philipsburg, 5th, 8th, and 2d Massachusetts, under Brigadier-General Paterson. (Signed) Major-General Lincoln."

- 1781. July 21at Verplanck's and Stony Point.
- 1781. Augustat West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1781. September ...at West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1781. Octoberat West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1781. November ...at New Windsor (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1781. December...at Verplanck's Point, with General Washington
(1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. Januaryat New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. Februaryat New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. Marchat New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. Aprilat New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. Mayat New York Huts (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. Juneat West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. Julyat West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. Augustat West Point (1st Massachusetts Brigade).
- 1782. August to Order of battle. 2d Brigade of Massachusetts,
October under General Paterson; Major-General Howe's
 division, under General Heath.
- 1782. September ...in camp at Verplanck's. In this new encampment
 the army remained through September and greater
 part of October, making progress in drill and dis-
 cipline.
- 1782. Octoberin camp at Verplanck's.
- 1782. November ...at New Windsor.
- 1782. December...at New Windsor.
- 1782.Camp, Verplanck's Point.
- 1783. Januaryat New Windsor.
- 1783. Februaryat New Windsor.
- 1783. Marchat Newburg.
- 1783. Aprilat Newburg.
- 1783. Mayat Newburg.
- 1783. SummerDissolution of Revolutionary army. The four
 Massachusetts regiments were retained to serve
 until the end of the war, December, 1783.
- 1783. Juneat Newburg.
- 1783. Julyat Philadelphia.
- 1783. Augustat Philadelphia.
- 1783. September ...at Philadelphia.
- 1783. September 25.Philadelphia. Troops to return to West Point to-
 morrow, and General Howe takes this oppor-
 tunity to express his high appreciation of the
 conduct of the officers.

1783. October.....at headquarters, West Point.
 1783. November....at headquarters, West Point.
 1783. Decemberat headquarters, West Point.

H

UNVEILING OF THE PATERSON MONUMENT AT LENOX,
 MAY 30TH, 1892, BEING DECORATION DAY.

The idea of removing the remains of General Paterson and his wife to Lenox, from which town he had rendered to the country his most distinguished services, in which his family had lived during the whole of the Revolutionary War, and of erecting a suitable monument to him and my grandfather, Major Egleston, originated many years ago. It could not, however, be carried out because it had never been possible to obtain the consent of the heirs of General Paterson, principally because there had been a plan to remove his remains to Rochester, New York, and to erect a suitable monument in the cemetery there. This plan failed in the year 1885 owing to the death of the originator of it. There was still, however, an unwillingness on the part of some of the heirs to have the remains removed. In the year 1886 I determined, if I could obtain the consent of the heirs and of the owners of the plots in which they were buried, to erect the monument. I made but little progress, however, until 1890, when I succeeded in eliciting the interest of W. H. Lee of New York, who is a distant relative of General Paterson's wife. He succeeded in getting the co-operation of Miss Maria Paterson Kilbourn, of Spencerport, N. Y., and of her sister, Mrs. Davis, of Yonkers, N. Y., who are granddaughters of General Paterson's daughter Maria, and in whose plot at Spencerport Mrs. Paterson had been buried, who after some trouble obtained the consent in writing. The consent of the town of Lenox was then asked to erect the monument in the small park at the top of the court-house hill, directly in front of the house which General Paterson built for himself, which was granted at a town meeting held April 6, 1889, when the following resolution was passed:

"Voted to allow Thomas Egleston to erect and maintain in the public square a monument to the memory of General John Paterson, provided the same be erected to the approval of a committee of the town to be appointed by the moderator.

"R. T. Auchmuty, William D. Curtis, and Henry Sedgwick were appointed that committee.

"[A true copy.]

"I. J. NEWTON, *Town Clerk.*"

The order for the execution of the monument, which had been designed by Thomas Egleston, of New York, was then given to R. Fisher & Co., of New York City.

At a special town meeting held in Lenox, May 12, 1892, it was

"Voted that the same committee, with Charles Carey and the selectmen added, be a committee of arrangements for the reception of the remains of General Paterson and Decoration Day exercises.

"Voted to raise and appropriate \$600 (six hundred dollars) in addition to the sum already appropriated for Decoration Day services, and that these appropriations be expended by the committee.

"[A true copy.]

"I. J. NEWTON, *Town Clerk.*"

On May 24, 1892, General Paterson's remains were removed from Whitney's Point, and the next day* the remains of Mrs. Paterson were removed from Spencerport. They arrived in Lenox on Thursday, May 26th, and were placed side by side in the northeast room of the house which they had built and lived in during their residence in Lenox, and where they had spent so many pleasant years in the early history of the town. This room, as it used to be when they were accustomed to be together in it, is filled with the morning sun. The remains were draped with the United States flag. They remained here, after more than seventy years of separation, bathed in sunshine, until Monday morning. The sight was a very impressive one, and one could not help a feeling of gladness that they who had been so united in life should be brought together again in their own house, in the room where they had so often enjoyed not only the sunshine of their day but the happiness of conjugal affection, as well as the dutiful love of their children. The respect with which these remains were treated by all the railroad officials, and the alacrity with which every wish was met and every formality gone through with, was gratifying in the extreme.

Owing to various delays, the monument and the grounds around it were not finished until late on Saturday night. The remains were to be reinterred on Decoration Day, which occurred on Monday. Before starting, the War Department at Washington had been asked for a detail of United States troops to do the last honors over General Paterson's grave. The correspondence relating to the subject is given below:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, May 6, 1892.

"SIR: As requested in your letter of the 2d instant, I have the honor to advise you that the necessary orders will be issued for the Command-

* At the request of Mr. W. H. Lee, of New York, Mrs. Paterson's remains were removed at his expense.

ing General of the Department of the East to send a Company from New York Harbor to Lenox to do honor to the remains of the late Major General John Paterson of the Revolutionary Army upon the occasion of their reinterment at Lenox.

"Very respectfully,

"L. A. GRANT,

"*Acting Secretary of War.*

"DR. THOMAS EGLESTON,

"Columbia College,

"Forty-ninth Street and Fourth Avenue,

"New York City."

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST,

"GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, NEW YORK CITY, May 12, 1892.

"SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 59.

[EXTRACT.]

* * * * *

"2. Under instructions received from the Major General Commanding the Army, to send a company from New York Harbor to Lenox, Mass., to do honor to the remains of Major General *Paterson*, of the Revolutionary Army, on their reinterment there on Memorial Day, May 30, 1892, Company A, 6th Infantry, will proceed to Lenox, Mass., in season to perform this duty there upon the day appointed.

"Captain *A. M. Wetherill*, commanding the company, will confer with Dr. *Thomas Egleston*, Columbia College, 49th Street and 4th Avenue, New York City, as to the details of the ceremony.

"Upon the completion of the duty required at Lenox, Mass., the company will return to its station at Fort Wood.

* * * * *

"BY COMMAND OF MAJOR GENERAL HOWARD:

"GEO. D. RUGGLES,

"*Assistant Adjutant General.*

"OFFICIAL:

"G. W. MACDONALD,

"*Aide-de-camp.*

"DR. THOS. EGLESTON,

"N. Y. City."

"FORT WOOD, BEDLOE'S ISLAND,

"NEW YORK, May 14, 1892.

"To Dr. *Thomas Egleston*,

"Columbia College,

"Forty-ninth Street and Fourth Avenue, New York.

"SIR: I have been directed by General Howard, commanding the Department of the East, to confer with you in relation to the details of the ceremony connected with the reinterment of the remains of Major General Paterson of the Revolutionary Army.

"Will you kindly appoint an hour when I can see you, either in New York or here, so that I may have a full understanding as to the time of leaving, arrangements for the accommodation of my company, and all particulars connected with the duty?"

"Very respectfully

"Your obedient servant,

"A. M. WETHERILL,

"*Captain 6th Infantry, Commanding.*"

The town had been decorated with great taste by the committee and the citizens. The buildings on the line of the main street were profusely ornamented with flowers, flags, and bunting. On the old court-house was a large tablet with the inscription :

BERKSHIRE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

1791

Built by Subscription.

GENERAL PATERSON, £80.

On Monday morning, the 30th instant, the troops arrived in Lenox. The graves had been previously prepared and the headstones of white Italian marble were placed in position. At twelve o'clock the remains of Mrs. Paterson were carried to the cemetery and placed in the Egleston plot, where two of her children, her son-in-law, and one grandchild had been previously buried. A tent had been erected on the green, between Sedgwick Hall and the Curtis Hotel, where Colonel Auchmuty and the reception committee received the visitors. By one o'clock several thousand people from all parts of the county and from adjacent States had assembled to witness the ceremony. They were in carriages, on horseback, and on foot. While the various delegations were arriving and being assigned to their respective positions in the line of march the band played several airs.

The programme of the ceremonies as arranged by the committee was as follows :

1. Reception of military companies, Grand Army posts, local and visiting societies and invited guests, by the Committee of Arrangements at Sedgwick Hall at 2 o'clock P.M.

2. Procession to form near Trinity Church at 2.30; line of march up Walker Street to Main to the Egleston house where General Paterson lived, where the remains of General Paterson will be met and escorted to the grave by Company A, 6th U. S. Infantry, up Main to the cemetery.

3. Decoration of soldiers' graves.

4. Unveiling of the monument.

- 5: Presentation of the monument to the town by Dr. Eggleston.
6. Address by Hon. Joseph Tucker, of Pittsfield, from a platform in front of Sedgwick Hall.

The line when formed marched to the cemetery in the following order :

Chief Marshal J. W. Cooney.
 His Aides, John W. Cooney, Jr., and Harvey H. Dewey.
 Germania band of Pittsfield.
 Company A, 6th Regiment U. S. Infantry.
 Remains of General Paterson.
 Company M of Adams, Massachusetts Militia.
 Father Mathew Cadets of Pittsfield.
 Father Mathew Cadets of Lee.
 Bartlett Camp Sons of Veterans of Pittsfield.
 Grand Army Veterans.
 "Mrs. Gaines," Colonel Auchmuty's war-horse.*
 Carriages containing speakers and distinguished guests.
 One hundred and fifty young women dressed in white and carrying
 flowers.
 St. Joseph's band of Pittsfield.
 Battalion of school children carrying flags.
 Ancient Order of Hibernians, Societies of Lenox and Lee.

Among the guests in carriages were: Colonel Walter Cutting, representing Governor Russell, Colonel R. T. Auchmuty, William Mahanna, C. E. Casey, Hon. Joseph Tucker, the orator of the day, Professor Thomas Eggleston, who gave the monument to the town, Rev. W. M. Grosvenor, Selectman Edward McDonald, General Wilson, Sheriff John Crosby, W. H. Lee, Professor J. S. Schanck of Princeton College, W. D. Curtis, Edwin S. Barrett of Concord and Nathan Warren of Waltham, president and registrar respectively of the Massachusetts Sons of the Revolution, Colonel C. M. Whelden, representing the department G. A. R. council of administration, and General Morris Schaff, representing West Point. Among other prominent gentlemen present were Senator Hickox of northern Berkshire, County Treasurer George H. Tucker, Hon. Marshall Wilcox, District Attorney Hibbard, Levi Beebe, J. C. West, J. P. Quigley of Lee, R. H. McDonald of Housatonic, W. Paterson of South Amboy, N. J., a descendant of Chief-Justice Paterson, Henry Bishop of Chicago, and Mr. and Mrs. Booth of New Britain.

* This horse was captured at the battle of Gaines's Mills and was used by Colonel Auchmuty during the rest of the Civil War. She was then thirty-six years old. Though quite gray, she is quite spirited. No work is required of her; she enjoys an honored old age, and is a feature in every public occasion in the town.

Of the descendants of General Paterson who were present were Miss Maria Paterson Kilbourn of Spencerport, N. Y., and her sister, Mrs. E. T. Davis of Yonkers, N. Y., descendants of his daughter Maria; Thomas Egleston of New York, descended from his daughter Hannah; Dr. J. Schanck of Princeton, whose wife, Maria Robbins, was the daughter of Hannah Paterson's eldest daughter; and Mr. William H. Lee of New York, a connection of Mrs. General Paterson.

The parade formed at half-past two opposite Trinity Church and went up Walker to Main Street. On reaching Dr. Egleston's house the military companies formed a hollow square, the soldiers presented arms, and the column was broken to receive the remains of General Paterson, which were in an oak coffin, covered with the United States flag. They were placed between Company A, 6th U. S. Infantry, and Company M of Adams. The line was then re-formed. The column moved up Main Street, almost every house of which was gayly decorated, the bands playing martial music. When in line the procession reached from the monument to the foot of the church hill.

The military formed about the grave, Company M of Adams on the north and the U. S. Infantry on the east. The coffin was lowered into the grave by Colonel Schaff, Colonel Welden, Colonel Adelbert Deland and Charles H. Rathburn from the Housatonic Grand Army Post. The Rev. Mr. Grosvenor read the collect for All-Saints' Day and for Easter Even. The U. S. troops fired three volleys over the grave. The graves of the soldiers of the Revolution, of the War of 1812, and of the Civil War were then decorated with flowers and flags, and the column re-formed and marched down Main Street and around the monument, which at the sound of the bugle was unveiled. The lines were then broken opposite the speaker's stand, built in front of Sedgwick Hall. Seats had been prepared for the speakers and invited guests on the platform, and settees in front of the platform, but the crowd was so great that the seats prepared were all filled and a great crowd assembled upon the outside. After selections had been played by the Germania Band, Colonel Auchmuty introduced Colonel Walter Cutting, who had been sent as the representative of the Governor of Massachusetts, he being unable to attend. Colonel Cutting said it gave him great pleasure to be sent on such a duty as to represent His Excellency, the Governor of the State, first, because the Governor had honored him with such a commission, and second, because he always enjoyed coming to Lenox, and was extremely pleased in seeing the people engaged in such patriotic duties as occupied their attention now. He expressed for Governor Russell his great regret at being unable to be present on this occasion.

Colonel Auchmuty thanked him in the name of the town of Lenox for the kind words he had spoken and for the message which the Governor had sent. He then presented Dr. Egleston, who was received with applause.

On rising, Dr. Egleston said:

"Colonel Auchmuty, ladies and gentlemen: I take great pleasure in presenting to the town of Lenox this monument which I have erected to the memory of Major-General Paterson, who was a citizen and a worthy representative of this town before, during, and after the Revolutionary War. It is a monument not only to him, but to integrity, honor, and patriotism as well, and will, I hope, be a perpetual reminder to old and young that the State of Massachusetts, the county of Berkshire, and the town of Lenox have always had a prominent place in the defense of liberty, honor, and justice, and have always quickly and enthusiastically responded with both treasure and men when the country has called for defenders of its liberties. General Paterson heard of the battle of Lexington here in Lenox on Friday at noon, and Saturday morning at sunrise he started with his regiment for Boston, and from that time never left the army until it was disbanded in December, 1783. He held the highest rank of any soldier from Berkshire County, and was the youngest officer of his grade, except Lafayette, in the Revolutionary army. When the State called on him for service during Shays' Rebellion in 1786-87 he answered as promptly. It is my intention to place a sum of money in the hands of trustees as an endowment fund for the proper care and preservation of this monument, so that it may be no cost to the town, and may go down to posterity to remind both the present and future generations to aspire to high aims and noble deeds."

Colonel Auchmuty responded for the town, and said that at the next town meeting the monument would be accepted. He said that the shaft would stand for hundreds of years, to show that those are best remembered who serve their country and do their duty. He then introduced Judge Tucker as a brave soldier, an upright judge, and a loyal citizen, one who, like General Paterson, went forth from this town at the call to arms. Judge Tucker was greeted with prolonged applause, and he stepped forward and spoke as follows:*

* Hon. Joseph Tucker was born in Lenox, Mass.; graduated at Williams' College in 1851; was admitted to the Berkshire bar in 1854; practiced law in St. Louis, Mo., till 1860; enlisted in the 49th Massachusetts regiment in August, 1862; was appointed first lieutenant of Company 7 D of that regiment in October, 1862; went with the regiment to Louisiana in January, 1863; in March was appointed as aide on the staff of the first brigade of the first division of the Army of the Gulf; on May 21st, 1863, lost his right leg at the battle of Plains' Store, near Port Hudson, La.; was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1865; was a member of the Massachusetts Senate in 1866 and 1867; was United States register in bankruptcy in 1867 and 1868; was Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts from 1869 to 1872, inclusive; has been justice of the district court of central Berkshire since 1872.

SPEECH OF JUDGE TUCKER OF PITTSFIELD AT THE
DEDICATION OF THE PATERSON MONUMENT.

(Lenox, May 30, 1892.)

NATURE is giving us our annual object-lesson: out of apparent death young life is springing; over the skeleton trees, over the bleak, harsh earth, she is weaving soft, flowing draperies beautiful in color and outline; out of ugliness has come beauty. Lenox is arrayed as a bride coming from her chamber. This fresh, joyous life of nature reacts upon our life; as pure and limpid water, released from its winter bonds by this summer sun, gladly bubbles up from our hillside springs and dresses the turf in living green, so our hearts, released from wintry bonds of selfishness, overflow with goodwill. Especially do we now remember our dead. We dislike to see their graves covered with snow and ice, to hear the fierce winds of winter blowing over them. When we see the tender grass softly covering them, hear the soft May winds singing gentle requiems over them, we are comforted; we feel that somehow nature has a message also for them. Perhaps these thoughts may have caused the selection of this day for Memorial Day in memory of our dead. Most of the dead in yonder cemetery belong especially to some family, but these served for us all, for you, for unborn generations, and so they are our dead. If this be true, can we do less than set apart one day in the lovely springtime in which by public and stately ceremonial the people, in whose service many of them died, shall make solemn testimonial in memory of their self-sacrifice? This is surely good public policy. Americans are notable the world over for their tremendous earnestness in business; their whole being is utterly engrossed in it; they have no leisure; regard holidays as time wasted; and are so bound up in the material things of the world that they tend toward a contempt of the higher things of the spirit. They are apt to forget that our splendid

material success is almost wholly due to the spiritual forces which only materialize in the presence and at the call of humble and devout seekers after truth. The body is powerfully influenced by what it feeds upon; likewise the spirit. It is wholesome to turn away, when possible, from private interests and dwell upon wearisome, dangerous, unselfish action. In a vast majority of cases a simple love of country was the controlling motive which actuated and glorified our dead. No one can catch even a glimpse of the true significance of these ceremonies without an uplifted ideal of a true life, a more vivid conception of the true meaning of the stars and stripes.

On this Memorial Day we of middle age and beyond naturally are much engrossed by our thoughts and memories of the late war, in which we were either actors or spectators. We have been so impressed by its magnitude, by the vital importance of its issues, and the costly sacrifices it demanded, that we nearly forget the remote past, when the institutions we so gloriously defended were founded by the wisdom, the blood of our fathers. A nation of thirty millions, strong, rich, possessed of all the appliances of modern science, consumed four years of bloody war to preserve the edifice which cost three millions of poor colonists seven years of bloody war and untold sacrifices to build. A generation has grown to maturity since the surrender at Appomattox, yet we can almost hear the rhythmic cadence of battalions marching past our doors to the front. At thousands of firesides the veteran has shouldered his crutch and told to admiring children how fields were won. The prose, poetry, and oratory of this generation have teemed with eulogy of our heroes. Not until quite lately have we begun to study the remote results of this war, to investigate its remote causes. To do this intelligently we have to go back to the beginning. Never before have the principles of scientific historical criticism been relentlessly applied to our past; in the flood of light thus focused upon them, our heroes of the Revolution are seen, not dimly and vaguely, but clearly, in their true heroic pro-

portions. A clearer perception of the results of the War of the Rebellion has awakened us to the priceless value of the War of the Revolution. Berkshire in those old days was a frontier settlement; its sparse population was largely settled on its farms. Not one large village was within its borders; its centers of trade we should now call hamlets. The first permanent settler in Lenox came here only twenty-five years before that war; within twenty years before it, the people of Lenox were driven away by fear of the Indians. Its people had the characteristics of the frontier of that day: they had brawn, courage, brains, and force of character, and were a religious people. Their leaders had these qualities. The captains of New England were men of eminent sagacity and wisdom. The town records of those days are rich in wise statesmanship and fervent patriotism. The English statesman Burke said, "The chief function of a government is to administer justice." England by new laws decreed that councilors and judges of higher courts of Massachusetts held their offices at the king's pleasure. The governor was a creature of the king; the sheriff a creature of the governor; the jurors, formerly selected by the towns, were now to be appointed by the sheriff. Thus the king alone administered justice. This was a direct blow at a most sacred right. Berkshire was prompt to lead in finding a remedy. The first county court to be held in Massachusetts, after the new laws were enacted, was on the third Tuesday of August, 1774, at Great Barrington; on that day fifteen hundred men assembled, unarmed, at Great Barrington, and "filled the courthouse and the avenues to it so full that no passage could be found for the judges." The sheriff commanded the people to make way for the court; the reply was, "We know no court except that provided by our ancient laws; the court must leave town." It did depart. No court under a royal commission ever sat again in Berkshire. Thus a complete act of revolution, striking at the chief function of government, was perpetrated here long before the war, more destructive of the king's authority than the destruction of the

tea in Boston Harbor. I speak of it as showing vividly what kind of men laid the foundation of Berkshire institutions.

It is the peculiar felicity of this occasion that on this day, set apart by the statutes of Massachusetts and by the unanimous sentiment of its people to renew our annual tribute to our dead soldiers, we can, in addition to our usual ceremonies, and as a fitting and grateful sequel to them, dedicate a permanent, beautiful, and artistic Memorial of the most distinguished soldier of Berkshire—I might perhaps truthfully say, of western Massachusetts—in the War of the Revolution. In our natural pride and satisfaction in our recent triumphant defense of the government, we are conscious of a certain neglect of those great men who created it; and so to-day we single out a representative man, of Lenox and Berkshire in the War of the Revolution, for especial honor.

In these days no one can escape an immediate and indelible record of his public, and most of his private, acts. The omnipresent reporter flashes them to the daily press, which presents them to the world for judgment. In the Civil War, on the day after a battle, the people at home knew more of its details than those engaged in it; brave deeds, great services, had immediate and permanent record. In those days no one at home knew anything about a great battle for perhaps weeks, and not then except by a chance letter or a wandering soldier. There was no daily press and hardly a post-office. To know the deeds of their soldiers the people must rely on tradition or search dry official reports. We should bear this in mind when we examine the record of the man whom we especially remember to-day—

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN PATERSON OF LENOX.

Many men are quite fortunate in their ancestors; not so many ancestors are very fortunate in their descendants. His grandson Thomas Egleston left Lenox in early manhood, and became one of the great merchants of New York, with all the great qualities of those merchants of his day. His

four great-grandsons are well known here to be worthy of their ancestry. The memory of Henry Egleston is dear in many Berkshire hearts. The mention of General Paterson in our histories is quite vague, and seems to depend mainly on tradition. Dr. Thomas Egleston, a great-grandson, and a distinguished member of the scientific department of Columbia College, has long engaged in a laborious and elaborate search of original official documents, libraries, colonial annals, and all other possible sources of information, and has gathered a number of very interesting facts, from which he has made an admirable sketch of the life and services of General Paterson (which I trust will soon be published). I shall avail myself of these facts to make a brief, sharp outline of his civil and military career. His grandfather came from Scotland, was one of the first settlers of Wethersfield, Conn., and married there in 1704. John Paterson, father of the General, moved to that part of Farmington, Conn., now known as New Britain, and there married. He was well educated, and a large owner of land; had much military ability; was a member of the local train bands in his youth; served with distinction, as a captain, under Wolfe in the French and Indian Wars; served as Captain under Lord Albemarle in the West Indies; was present at the capture of Havana, and died there of yellow fever in 1762, with a brilliant record. John Paterson, his only son, was born in Farmington, Conn., in 1744; graduated at Yale in 1762, studied law there, and practiced his profession there successfully.

In 1766 he married Miss Elizabeth Warren Lee of that town. She was a woman of great force of character, and very charming in person and manner. Early in 1774 he came with his family to Lenox. He was then thirty years old, over six feet in height, a nervous, active man, very powerful, and a noted pedestrian. On July 6th of that year a congress of delegates from all the towns of the county, made up of their ablest men, met in Stockbridge. John Ashley of Sheffield presided; Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge was clerk; John Paterson was a delegate. The famous

"Solemn League and Covenant" was adopted. It was the foundation of the Massachusetts rebellion. This was a covenant "not to import, purchase, or consume any goods or manufactures which shall arrive from Great Britain from and after the 1st of October next; any person refusing to sign it is to be treated with all the neglect deserved; any shopkeeper refusing to sign is not to be traded with." We should call this a boycott. Within ten days Mr. Paterson obtained the signatures of one hundred and ten men of Lenox to this treasonable paper. In August was the meeting in Great Barrington I have spoken of; there is no record that John Paterson was there, but I am absolutely sure he was. He was planned that way. I am confident that it was quietly arranged for at the Stockbridge Congress, though Colonel Ashley, the chairman, was one of the judges. In September Governor Gage warned the people to elect representatives to the General Court to be held October 5th, at Salem; after the election he revoked the call, being alarmed by the instructions of many towns to their representatives. John Paterson was elected by Lenox, and was instructed to proceed to Salem, and if the governor appeared, to unite with him in finding a remedy for public wrongs; if he did not appear, to go on without him. He did not appear, and after waiting for him one day, the legislature proceeded to declare itself a Provincial Congress, and went on just as if there were no governor—another act of high treason. Mr. Paterson was ordered to investigate the condition of the commissary department, and thus got full knowledge of the resources of the province, so that when he came home, Lenox, doubtless on his motion, appointed him one of a committee to procure grain for public use, and appropriated twenty pounds sterling to buy a stock of ammunition. He was then convinced that war was coming, and resolved that his home should be ready for it. In January, 1775, he was again elected. This time they did not wait a call from the governor; the people called their representatives for the first time in Massachusetts. February 14th he offered a resolution to

send an agent to Canada to induce that people to combine with us. John Brown of Pittsfield was appointed agent. He was on a committee to revise the commission of the "Committee of Safety and Supplies." This was important work, as that committee was the executive head of the people; it took the place of the governor. April 24th he was placed on this committee for this county. He was very active in all military matters, then of the highest importance.

I submit that this is a remarkable record. He came here early in 1774; within eighteen months he was a delegate to perhaps the most important convention ever held in this county, certainly the most perilous; was twice a representative of the town; was a prominent member; was made a member of the Executive Committee of the province; was conspicuous in persuading his people to rebel against their government. It may be suggested that probably he was a plausible, pushing office-seeker; on the contrary, he was a peculiarly modest, reticent man, never pushing himself. It is certain he never forgot he was a gentleman. No! he was a born leader and organizer of men. It was a solemn time in Massachusetts. They were a loyal people; they believed the king would redress their wrongs if bad men did not intervene. Most of them condemned the Boston tea-party of the year before, but the relentless logic of events swept them on: they signed the League and Covenants; they abolished the courts; they formed a new government. Then came the logical conclusion, the clash of arms. This was no time for demagogues; it was too early for that crop: earnest, honest, able men were sought for. They instinctively said, "Here is a man we need." The war had come, and he had long awaited it; he with other noted men of the county prepared the people for it. Between the First and Second Congresses he had been active in recruiting, equipping, and drilling a Berkshire regiment of minute-men, to be ready at a moment's notice. He became their colonel.

The battle of Lexington occurred on Wednesday, April 19th; the news, coming by relays of couriers, reached Lenox

Friday noon; on Saturday, April 22d, at sunrise, Colonel Paterson marched for Cambridge with a regiment fully armed and equipped, nearly every man in uniform. This beats the record of the early march of Massachusetts men in 1861, which brought much honor to the State. It was done without the aid of steam or lightning; there must have been some rough riding over these hills the night before. June 15th the regiment became the 15th Foot of the Continental Infantry. It built a fort where now is the city of Somerville, and there remained to guard the flank of the army through the fight at Bunker Hill and until the evacuation of Boston, and then marched with Washington to Staten Island. April 13, 1776, it was ordered to Canada. It had then six hundred men in fine condition. Before it reached Canada Montgomery had fallen, and Arnold, wounded, had retreated to Montreal, where it arrived early in May. There it suffered terribly with smallpox. June 8th there were but six men fit for duty, the rest being in the hospital sick with inoculated smallpox. It fought the disastrous battle of the Cedars with the British and Indians, losing many men; sixty-seven were captured. In September Colonel Paterson was in command at Fort George and was recommended by General Gates for promotion. In November they joined Gates near Saratoga with three hundred and thirty-one men and were ordered to rejoin Washington. His army was retreating through New Jersey; they joined him December 8th, with only two hundred and twenty men. The term of enlistment of most of his army was about to expire, and they were in a desperate condition. It was the most gloomy period of the war. But how fortunate for Paterson and the Berkshire men that they came in time to have a share in that masterly crossing of the broad Delaware, filled with floating ice, to the brilliant victory at Trenton on that stormy Christmas Eve, and two days after in the brilliant flank movement and victory at Princeton. The country was again full of hope and courage. For his conduct he was promoted to be brigadier-general in February, 1777, and was ordered to Ticonderoga. On its evacua-

tion he joined Gates, with a brigade of four Massachusetts regiments, near Saratoga. His brigade was in nearly all the engagements near Saratoga, and had heavy losses. General Paterson's horse was killed under him. After the surrender of Burgoyne the Brigade was at Valley Forge through the winter and until June, when a council of war was held to discuss the grave question of a general engagement. General Paterson was an ardent advocate of it. The council resulted in the fiercely contested battle of Monmouth; at its close the enemy retreated. On one of the bas-reliefs of the monument, erected in 1884 by New Jersey to commemorate this battle, is a group of the officers composing the council. In the group is John Paterson next to La Fayette. After the battle he was ordered to take command of the fortress at West Point. His brigade left there just before Arnold's treason became known. He was a member of the court-martial which tried Major André, and was the youngest member except La Fayette. From this time most of the fighting was in the south. He was at West Point and its vicinity till the close of the war, and much of the time in command of that post. It was considered the military key of the northern department, and while the bulk of the army was in the south it was important that this post should be intrusted to safe hands—and it was. Peace was proclaimed April 17, 1783; the army was disbanded, but General Paterson and his brigade were kept at West Point till December 8, 1783. On September 30th he was promoted to be major-general.

I am quite well aware that this is a very bald outline of a distinguished military career. Shortly after his death his house and all his papers, letters, diaries, and private memoranda were burned. If we only had the letter which I am sure he wrote to his wife on that Christmas after the splendid fight at Trenton, penned when he was yet throbbing with a soldier's joy! What a vision it would give us of the real man! If we could quote passages from his diary written just after Monmouth or Saratoga, how near we could get to him and to those battles! How easily we could cover this

cold skeleton of official facts with a warm, living body full of human interest, appealing irresistibly to our hearts rather than our judgments! He came home, after an absence of eight years with only one furlough. He had been a citizen here ten years, all of them almost wholly occupied in the public service.

In 1786 he was again called on to assist in suppressing the very serious Shays Rebellion, and received the formal thanks of the government. He lived five years more in Lenox, serving several times in town offices, showing always a strong interest in the town. His subscription for building the courthouse was eighty pounds, the largest made, and enormous for those days. In 1791 he removed to Broome County, N. Y., and there at once became a public servant. He was four years a member of the legislature; a delegate to the Constitutional Convention; a member of Congress one term; and presiding judge of the County Court from 1798 to his death. He died at Lisle, N. Y., in 1808, at the age of sixty-four years.

Does not this life strongly appeal to us for recognition of its able, faithful service? I can conceive how Dr. Egleston was at first content with a memorial tablet in yonder church; but as his search unfolded this man's career, the man grew steadily greater, until not only a natural pride of ancestry but the pride of patriotism demanded that here in Lenox should stand forever the monument unveiled to-day. If he could speak to us, we should know his deep gratification that loving hands had brought him tenderly back again to the scene of his noble service, and laid him beside his kindred and among his comrades, and that Berkshire had come here to pay him the honors justly due him. As New Jersey grouped him, on her battle monument, with Washington and La Fayette, so it is time that the town he honored in civil and military service should with solemn ceremony receive his ashes, study his record, and dedicate this monument to his fame. I congratulate my native town that this tribute, to an honest, able, and useful public servant, is to stand forever right in its very heart. My own experience teaches me what an inspiration

and education it will be to this people. Daily I pass the noble statue of the standard-bearer in Pittsfield, the most artistic representation of an American volunteer I have ever seen; together with its wonderful inscription, "For the living, a memory; for the dead, a tribute; for posterity, an emblem of loyalty to the flag of our country," it is a continual refreshment and joy. Many days you may pass by and not regard it, but some day, when your mind and heart are rightly tuned, this stone will strike a chord there which you will not willingly forget. Daniel Webster at the dedication of the monument at Bunker Hill said: "We can win no laurels in a war for independence; nor are there places for us among the founders of States—our fathers have filled them; there remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation."

The country was in a sad condition at the close of the war. The pressure of a common danger had kept the colonies united; when that pressure ceased they began to quarrel. They had little common interest, little intercourse; the distances were immense, the roads dreadful; a journey from Boston to New York by the fast stage line consumed a week, and two coaches did all the business. The currency was worthless; every one was in debt; no one would take the debased paper. Congress, their only central government, had no power, and was without influence. For five years after the war their condition grew steadily worse. The historian John Fiske says that those five years were much more dangerous than any period of the war; that there was imminent danger of utter anarchy. Europe was certain that the result would be thirteen pitiful little States and ultimate union under a military chieftain. Some of our people hoped for this, as the best remedy for their distress. Many good men saw that union was necessary, but they had been educated to fear centralized government and to magnify their States; they hated the idea of a strong government. But their condition became so unbearable, their distress so great, that they finally appointed delegates to the immortal convention of 1787. Even then no one dared to say that its work was to create a

new form of government, such was the State jealousy and the fear of giving up any power. The people thought they would patch up the old confederacy. The convention sat four months in secret session in Independence Hall, and presented to their countrymen that wonderful Constitution which Mr. Gladstone pronounces the greatest work ever struck forth, in a given time, by the brain of man. It was a creation, not a mere selection from the experience of others. Creation on a large scale always partakes, in some degree, of the supernatural. There was no precedent. The problem was to construct a government whose form and practical working should be permeated by the Declaration of eleven years before, that all men are free and equal before the law. There was no model; the world had never seen one. There had been vague dreams of it, but they were regarded as baseless visions. That a continent could safely trust the common people to govern themselves was mere midsummer madness. The convention, especially delegated, as I believe, by a divine Providence, had two problems to solve, both of which seemed too difficult for human wisdom. First, to devise an entirely new form of government, which should easily and almost automatically put into practical action a new and untried theory; which should unite a divided people, and by its immediate results recommend itself to a very practical and impatient people. But suppose all this to be accomplished, how were the common people, poor, loaded with debt, oppressed with taxes, jealous of power, suspicious of all authority outside their own State—how were they to comprehend this profound and completely new charter? How was it possible for them to suddenly grasp its wonderful beneficence? How was it possible to persuade them to drop their local jealousies and intrust their future welfare to it? The world did not then perceive it, but the fact that those people, conditioned as they were, should have been able to even dimly understand and accept their new government was a final demonstration of the capacity of the people to govern themselves.

It is worth considering for a moment. You have been act-

ors in a national election. The struggle turned upon a single issue, perhaps the tariff or the currency. You know something of the perfection of the organization of parties; of its enormous cost; of the great ability of its orators and of the press; of the industry of the politicians for months and years—all this to instruct and persuade the people upon a single issue. Suppose the issue to be the whole form and theory of a government, with yourselves and your leaders ignorant of its practical working, and that you were living under like conditions; can you conceive of yourselves, confronted with such a problem under such circumstances, being able to triumphantly solve it? If so, you can fully measure them, not otherwise. The new government was inaugurated; you all know its history. This commonwealth is a fair illustration of its beneficent results. It greatly blessed the country. But there was a serpent in this Eden. The new charter presented a strange anomaly. Formed for freemen, saturated with the ideas of the Declaration, it contained a recognition of human slavery. The convention was almost unanimously opposed to this, but thought it absolutely essential that all the States should accept its work. To obtain unanimity they were obliged to insert a recognition of slavery; all then supposed it to be a temporary evil. The cotton crop and the cotton-gin made it a gigantic power. Its absolute necessities compelled it to seek controlling power in politics. It controlled them for fifty years. Its presence in our organic law was a fatal error. Long before the war Abraham Lincoln said, "I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." When he was elected slavery thought its existence required rebellion. The error of the fathers had matured its fruit. The war brought freedom to the slave and nearly equal benefit to all laborers. How could labor rise to its complete dignity and honor while laborers were bought and sold like cattle in the market? So long as slavery existed labor was degraded. It is true that since the war labor has lifted up its head with new power and self-respect. The results of the war made this land the earthly paradise of the workingmen. The young man com-

ing here from the lowest wretchedness of Europe has no limits to his possible achievements, except his capacity and strength ; all honors, wealth, comfort, happiness, are possible according to his gifts. If he stays in Germany he must bury five of his best years in the army, and be liable to further service. If he remains in England only a miracle will lift him out of the life he was born into. His life in Russia is a dead level of utter hopelessness. Nowhere does the sun of hope shine in and cause him to grow to the full stature of manhood, except in this dear land, which we have at last made free. Here, unless sickness, bad habits, or laziness prevent, every man can at least provide for a comfortable, happy old age. Work is most honorable. That to such a country, rich with blessings earned by the blood of two wars, men should come from the slums of the Old World and preach the accursed doctrines of anarchy, should be allowed to advocate the abolition by force of property, law, government, surpasses belief. It is liberty run mad.

The work of the fathers had but one radical fault ; that defect was well known to them, but they felt compelled to allow it to remain, hoping it would soon be removed. It became a menace to our peace. It was our privilege and duty to complete their work, and so the War of the Rebellion became the logical successor of the War of the Revolution. At last their fondest hope is realized, their work is complete, as they designed it ; and thus (and this is the central thought I would express to-day) we are nearer to the fathers than all the generations that have preceded us. Other generations have used the liberty they inherited ; we have made their design a reality. We are firmly settled upon the bed-rock principle which their wonderful sagacity first announced to the world, that all men are free and equal before the law ; first organized into government by the fathers, but never an accomplished fact till emancipation was proclaimed by Abraham Lincoln. As the blood flowing from the heart to the extremities continually repairs the constantly wasting tissues, keeps the eyes bright, the senses alert, the brain clear, the whole body fit for service, so this great principle, permeating the

body politic, tests every statute, every executive act, every decree of the courts, acts upon our social intercourse, our business, our recreations. We do not perceive it any more than the air, but we rely upon it unconsciously as we do upon natural laws. It is part of our contracts, our ambitions, our hopes; it enlarges our self-respect. It is the ozone of our political atmosphere; our political health depends upon it. We do not fully appreciate it, yet no blessing like unto it has ever enveloped the hearts and homes of any people. Those who have it not yearn after it, as the hart panteth for the water brooks; it seems to them like a cool spring in a thirsty desert. Out of the depths of their poverty and misery they strain every nerve to enter into this happy land; to them the idea of equal rights freely bestowed seems more precious than the Moham-medan paradise to the devout Moslem. They are right; of all things in this world worth fighting for, dying for, this is supreme; for this the fathers and their worthy heirs fought; for this John Paterson of Lenox fought and William Dwight Sedgwick of Lenox died. Until those discovered it and these completed it, the world never saw a pure liberty freely bestowed upon a great nation. The world sees it now and appreciates it. We wonder to see the multitude pouring into our gates; the secret lies in the liberty which is here a living reality. The prolific mother of many blessings, it makes free public education necessary. When a man feels he is really free he begins to think knowledge is necessary to the dignity of his position; the more knowledge he gets the more he prizes liberty. Before he was President, Lincoln said of the Declaration of the fathers: "This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe; this their wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures." On his memorable journey to Washington in 1861 he said in Independence Hall: "I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence." We have no time for the full argument; it seems clear to me that the establishment of this doctrine as a vital truth in the hearts of this

people is ample compensation for the dreadful cost of both wars. Let us try to get a just estimate of this rich and costly blessing. The fathers gave it to the world; my comrades cut out the cancer of slavery and gave free course to the life-blood of freedom through all the veins and arteries of the body politic, untainted and pure; building up the waste places; bringing hope and sweet content to the hopeless; compacting a divided people into a proud, happy nation, which can now with perfect truth and honest pride look up to the stars and stripes, and say, "There floats the beautiful symbol of a true, pure liberty."

Will all this continue? It certainly will until God provides a safer foundation for a State. In every earnest conflict between good and evil the good will surely triumph in the end. Even in this crime-laden, wicked age many more good deeds are daily done than bad ones. Every petty larceny is published, but a hundred little gifts are made daily in the same community, a hundred hands are clasped in silent sympathy, a hundred helpful words are spoken, which are never chronicled. In every political issue which is also a moral issue the right has always triumphed where there is free debate. Witness the slavery issue, the fight with Tweed in New York. We have had an object-lesson this winter which seems to me conclusive. I refer to the lottery contest in Louisiana. Just after the Civil War a party of New York gamblers got a charter in that State giving them a monopoly of the lottery business for twenty-five years; in 1879 they got their charter into the State constitution; it expires January 1, 1895. Of course it now desires a new charter, and this winter proceeded to force its way through the legislature. It needed just twenty-four votes in the Senate—it got just twenty-four, no more, no less; it needed just sixty-six votes in the House—it got just sixty-six votes, no more, no less. The governor vetoed the resolve. It needed just three judges of the Supreme Court to deny his right to veto—it got just three judges. The question then went to the people. It needed just thirty-nine members of a committee on creden-

tials to control a convention—it got just thirty-nine, no more, or less. Its money power is enormous; the market value of its stock exceeds the entire banking capital of the State. Its stock pays dividends of from seventy to one hundred and sixty per cent., and part of it is held by leaders in both parties. It offered a bribe of \$1,250,000 a year for twenty-five years to this poor State. It controlled every daily paper in New Orleans, and could paralyze any bank or business house that opposed it. More than half of the voters of the State are ignorant negroes. No one had any special personal interest to oppose it. It required sublime moral and physical courage to oppose it. It was a much more dangerous foe than the Italian Mafia. The odds in its favor seemed a thousand to one; those who entered this fight must be actuated by a high, pure, moral purpose, an unselfish patriotism. The men came forward—they always do when a forlorn hope is called for. They established a new daily paper, which was conducted with great power. They began to hold small meetings. Soon the tide began to rise. After a while all the white clergy, and then a majority of the black clergy, joined them; then the women *en masse* took up this cause. They had very little money, and called upon patriots of the North for help, and got it, and deserved it, for nine tenths of the revenues of the corporation (over \$20,000,000 each year) came from the North. Of this, their New England agency sent more than any other. And they got sympathy from all Christian denominations; they got a manly Christian protest from Cardinal Gibbons, the head of the Roman Church in this country, which was a deadly blow to the lottery. They had to overcome political prejudice and divide both of the parties; they had to erase the color line and overcome the intensely bitter race feeling, more bitter than in any other State. Can you conceive of a moral battle under more adverse circumstances? And yet they had a complete victory. Warm praise and admiration are especially due to General George D. Johnston, Governor Nichols, and the editor of the *New Delta*—I can't recall his name. Here was a clear moral

issue, discussed on the stump before a comparatively ignorant people, resulting in a triumph for the right against an immense money power, very ably led, controlling the machinery of both parties, all the daily press, and most of the business influence. To me it has been a very impressive and reassuring contest. It could have only taken place where was real freedom.

I believe this will continue, because in a peculiar sense it is a providential country. When the colonists had decided that they must fight, their supreme need was a man so superior to other men that an almost insanely jealous people should never question his wisdom or his motives. If they had searched the earth they could have found no man who could fill the place of George Washington. Yet he had been quietly growing up here, almost unknown beyond his State. Then a veritable creation of a completely new form of government which had but one serious error, known, but supposed to be short lived, but which soon menaced and finally resolved to destroy the whole. Then rebellion, civil war. Again the supreme need was a man like unto the other, but adapted to his age. The man was ready; he came right out of the heart of the common people—an American of the purest type; none other would answer. Of all the great men who were prominent during the war, some were abler in one direction, some in other directions, but no one combined all the necessary qualities but Abraham Lincoln. He alone was utterly unselfish; he gave himself to his country wholly; he brooded over her as a mother broods over her babes. A thoughtful reading of his life will disclose a gradual leading up, from boyhood to that fatal night in the Washington theater, by a power higher than man. Most of us had the idea, at first, of saving the Union and slavery with it; but such was the ebb and flow of victory and defeat for many weary months, the progress of events was so overruled that at last the people were brought to know that slavery must die. What would our victory have been worth if slavery had survived? It would not have been worth one tenth of the blood that was

shed. Memorial Day would have little inspiration. The chief distinction of this generation, viz., the completion of the work of the fathers, would have passed on to some future generation.

Imperial America, "enthroned between her subject seas," midway between mysterious, mystical Asia and conservative Europe, containing everything necessary for countless millions, was silently waiting for the fixed time when her fallow soil should receive the seed of liberty. It has taken one hundred years to fully perfect its fruit; the people who have fed upon it will never consent to live without it. We do well to honor one who helped to plant it. In doing this we also honor those who helped to perfect it. And here it seems not unfitting this occasion to suggest to Lenox people my hope that in the near future they will place on the brow of yonder hill a statue of Major William Dwight Sedgwick. He was born and reared here; it was his home till manhood; when the war began he left Missouri and came to Lenox, because he said he wished to fight among Massachusetts men. He was a very able and enthusiastic soldier; was promoted from the line of the famous 2d Massachusetts to the staff of noble John Sedgwick, commander of the famous 6th Corps; he fell at Antietam in September, 1862. He was a great, stalwart, noble man, a loyal lover of Lenox. I drove him to Pittsfield on his way to his regiment; the next time I saw him was in his coffin, in his mother's house yonder. We came from a Pittsfield camp, and bore him to Stockbridge for burial on a lovely autumn afternoon. As we parted from him at the grave the sun was just sinking behind the western hills, the full harvest moon rising in the east—beautiful symbol of a glorious death, strong assurance of a glorious resurrection. The two memorials would complete your goodly record. They would tell the story I have tried to tell more powerfully than any tongue or pen, and repeat it to your boys and girls for many generations.

History makes comrades all who fought for liberty. As a comrade of the Grand Army I am here to pay honor to a



THE PATERSON-EGLESTON MONUMENT, LENOX, MASS.

comrade. As a Companion of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, a lineal descendant of the order of the Cincinnati founded by Washington and his officers, I come here to do honor to an original member of that order. As a native of Lenox I feel it to be a rare privilege to take any part in dedicating this fine memorial of one of the most distinguished in her long roll of able, eminent citizens.

"Be proud! for she is saved, and all have helped to save her—
 She that lifts up the manhood of the poor,
 She of the open soul and open door,
 With room about her hearth for all mankind.
 The fire is dreadful in her eyes, no more—
 From her bold front the helm she doth unbind,
 Sends all her handmaid armies back to spin,
 And bids her navies hold their thunders in;
 No challenge sends she to the elder world
 That looked askance and hated; a light scorn
 Plays o'er her mouth, as round her mighty knees
 She calls her children back, and waits the morn
 Of nobler day, enthroned between her subject seas."

After the address the "Regulars" gave an exhibition drill, and were followed by the Pittsfield cadets, who showed great skill and discipline and called out great applause by their very rapid and well-executed maneuvers. The Lee cadets gave a drill in the evening. They made a fine showing and elicited a great deal of applause.

In the evening Colonel Auchmuty gave a dinner at the Curtis Hotel to the U. S. Regulars, Company M. of Adams, the F. M. T. A. cadets, and the guests of the occasion. After-dinner speeches were made by E. S. Barrett of Concord, Captain Wetherell, U. S. N., Joseph Ward Lewis of the *Journal* of Pittsfield, Selectman McDonald of Lenox, Captain Marshall, and Mr. Fitzgerald of the Pittsfield cadets. Late in the evening the company dispersed.

The monument is shown in the engraving opposite to this page. The foundation is laid in cement, and is 8 feet deep and 11 feet square. This base is protected on the corners by four stones cut out so as to surround the angles at the corners, 6 inches on each side. The bottom base is 9 feet square and 14 inches in height, and weighs 16,500 pounds. The second base is 6 feet 8 inches square and 1 foot high, and weighs 7700 pounds. The third base is 4 feet 8½ inches square and is 15 inches high, and weighs 4500 pounds. The die is 3 feet 9 inches square at the base and 3 feet 7 inches square at the top and 4 feet 2 inches high, and weighs 9800 pounds. The cap is 4 feet 8 inches square, 14 inches high, and weighs 4100 pounds. The shaft is 3 feet square at the base, 1 foot 10 inches square at the top, and is 21 feet 9 inches high,

and weighs 9500 pounds. The total height of the monument is 30 feet 6 inches, and the total weight is 52,100 pounds. The monument is in polished granite from Quincy, Mass. It is placed so that the name of Paterson faces north. The shaft is ornamented on the north and south sides with the flag of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, crossed with the United States flag, the stars and alternate stripes of which are in polished granite. The die is ornamented on the north side with the name of Paterson, with two flint-lock muskets and two cannon swabs crossed behind it, with a pile of ten cannon-balls and two stars, the insignia of his rank as Major-General. On the upper base are two swords crossed, and on the lower one are the words, "Erected in 1892 by Thomas Eggleston." The inscription which is given below is on the east side.

IN MEMORY OF
MAJOR GENERAL JOHN PATERSON,

SON OF COLONEL JOHN PATERSON.

BORN 1744, DIED 1808.

AND ELIZABETH LEE HIS WIFE.

BORN 1749, DIED 1841.

He was born in New Britain, Conn. Graduated at Yale College in 1762. He entered the law in his native town. He was married June 2nd 1766.

In 1774 he moved to Lenox and was chosen a member of the Berkshire Convention July 1774. Represented this town in the General Court, which became the first Provincial Congress in 1774, and also in the second Provincial Congress in 1775. Was made Colonel of a regiment he raised in 1775 and was one of the first in the field with it after the battle of Lexington and defended Boston from an attack in the rear during the battle. Was complimented by Washington in general orders, Nov. 10, 1775.

In April 1776 was ordered to Staten Island and from there to Canada. Was in the battle of the Cedars. Crossed the Delaware with Washington Dec. 25, 1776, and was in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Was made Brigadier General Feb. 21, 1777. Assisted in the capture of Burgoyne October 1777 and was in the battle and council of Monmouth in 1778.

In 1780 he commanded West Point and was on the trial of Major Andre.

He was in most of the decisive battles of the Revolution and served during the whole war. He was one of the founders of the society of the Cincinnati in May 1783 and on September 30, 1783, he was made Major General. After the war he returned to Lenox and was a most public spirited citizen. In 1786 he commanded the Massachusetts troops in putting down Shays' rebellion. In 1790 he moved to Lisle, New York, where he died. He was four years a member of the N.Y. General Assembly.

In 1801 was a member of the committee to revise the constitution of New York State. Was appointed Chief Justice of Broome Co., N.Y. He served in the U.S. Congress in 1803 to 1805. He died July 9, 1808, in the full vigor of manhood, in the pursuit of duty, in the service of the country he had so ably defended. He was a soldier, a patriot and a statesman. His remains lie in the churchyard. In gratitude for his public services and in recognition of his private virtues this monument is erected.

On the south side is the same ornamentation for the shaft, with the name "Egleston," and with the same ornamentation on the die, except the stars; and on the west side is the inscription which is given below, relating to the Revolutionary services of Azariah Egleston, who was General Paterson's son-in-law, and, like him, served during the whole of the Revolutionary War.

IN MEMORY OF
MAJOR AZARIAH EGLESTON.

BORN 1757, DIED 1822.

AND HANNAH PATERSON HIS WIFE.

BORN 1759, DIED 1803.

On April 22, 1775, in anticipation of the breaking out of the Revolution, he enlisted as a private in the regiment of Col. John Paterson and was active in inducing others to enlist. He marched with the regiment immediately after the battle of Lexington and went with it to Canada, when he enlisted for the whole war. He was in the battle of the Cedars. Crossed the Delaware with Washington Dec. 25, 1776, and was in the battles of Princeton and Trenton. In 1777 he served against Burgoyne and was in both the battles of Bemis Heights, and was at Saratoga when Burgoyne surrendered. He was promoted to the rank of Ensign May 18, 1776, by John Hancock. He was with Washington at Valley Forge, where he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. In 1778 he was in the battle of Monmouth and the siege of Newport. On March 7, 1779, was promoted to the rank of Major and served on the staff of Gen. Ashley and Gen. Paterson. He was at the evacuation of New York Dec. 1783. In 1784 he returned to Lenox. In 1786 he served in Shays' rebellion. He was Deputy Quartermaster General under Gen. Paterson in 1787 and afterwards under Gen. Ashley. He was a friend of Washington, Kosciusko and Lafayette and was one of the founders of the Society of the Cincinnati. After the war he made Lenox a prominent centre of education. He was as public spirited after the war as he had been patriotic during it and was noted for his hospitality. His house was the headquarters for army officers and men of literature and learning. He was always identified with every movement for the good of the town or the state. In 1787 he was appointed Justice of the Peace and resigned in 1808. In 1796, 1797, 1798 and 1799 he was chosen Representative in Boston. In 1807, 1808 and 1809 he was elected State Senator. In 1808 he was appointed Associate Justice of the Court of Sessions. Duty, whether to the country on the field of battle, to the State in the legislature, to the town in public services or the family in his home, was never forgotten. His life was full of patriotic actions for the country and generous deeds to his neighbors. His remains lie in the churchyard. In memory of his public services and his private virtues this monument is erected.

The monument stands directly in view of the town hall which General Paterson was so active in building, and opposite to the house in which he lived, on the line of the roads which Major Egleston laid out. It forms

a very beautiful and graceful object at the head of Court-house Hill, and serves to keep alive the Revolutionary memories in which Lenox took so prominent a part. The Egleston house at this date is the only Revolutionary memento that is left in the town.

At the annual town meeting held in Lenox on April 3, 1893, the following resolution was proposed:

"Voted to accept the monument to General John Paterson erected in this town by Mr. Egleston, and to tender a vote of thanks to Mr. Egleston for the same.

"[A true copy.]

"I. J. NEWTON, *Town Clerk.*"

I

LIST OF BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS FROM WHICH INFORMATION HAS BEEN OBTAINED.

In Albany:

The Records of the State of New York.

In New York City:

Orderly-book of the Northern Army at Ticonderoga.

Turnbull's History of Cuba.

Hayard's Cuba with Pen and Pencil.

Justamonde's History of the Indies.

Parker's History of Londonderry, N. H.

Riddel's Memorials of the Revolution.

Barber's Historical Collections of Connecticut.

History of Ancient Windsor.

Hayen's History of Billerica.

Temple's History of Northfield.

Barber's History of Connecticut.

Bugbee's Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.

Hamilton's History of the American Republic.

Gordon's History of the Revolution.

Saffield's Records of the Revolutionary War.

Dawson's Battles of the United States by Sea and Land.

Carrington's Battles of the American Revolution.

Surgeon James Thatcher's Journal.

- Force's American Archives.
 Munsell's Historical Series.
 New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
 Harper's Cyclopædia of United States History.
 Drake's Dictionary of American Biography.
 Journals of Congress.
 Werner's Civil List of Constitutional History of New York.
 Boynton's History of West Point Military Academy.
 Ruttenber's Defenses of the Hudson.
 Manuscript Map of the Camp, 1782-83.
 Sparks' Life of Washington.
 Sparks' Writings of Washington.
 Whiting's Revolutionary Orders of General Washington (compiled from the Manuscripts of Lieutenant Whiting).
 Gardner's Dictionary of Officers of the American Army.
 Hamersley's Official Register of Army and Navy Officers of the United States.
 Hamersley's Army Register of the United States, 1779 to 1879.
 Lieutenant Fogg's Orderly-book in General Poor's Regiment.
 Washington's Letters.
 Kapp's Life of Baron Steuben.
 General Heath's Memoirs (by himself).
 Sargent's Life of Major André.
 Drake's Burgoyne's Invasion.
 Stone's Campaigns of Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne.
 Barber's Historical Collections of Massachusetts.
 Minot's Select Tracts of Insurrections in Massachusetts.
 Journals of the Provincial Congresses of Massachusetts in 1774-75.
 Journal of Committee of Safety of Provincial Congress.
 Johnston's Connecticut in the Revolution.
 Johnston's Yale in the Revolution.
 Bugbee's History of the Cincinnati.
 Schuyler's Institution of the Society of the Cincinnati.
 Camp's History of New Britain.
 History of Berkshire Co., Mass.
 Address on the Life of John Paterson, by W. H. Lee.
 History of Hartford Co. (2 vols. 4to).
 Fisk's History of the American Revolution (2 vols.).
 Minot's History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts.
 Barry's History of Massachusetts.
 The French War and the Revolution. Sloane.
 Three Episodes in Massachusetts History. Adams.
 Storer's Records of Freemasonry.
 Wilkinson's Annals of Binghamton, New York.

In Boston :

Frothingham's Seige of Boston.
 Records of Provincial Congresses.
 Massachusetts Court Records.
 Historical Manuscripts in State House, Boston.
 Massachusetts Manuscript Archives in the State House.
 General Wilkinson's Memoirs.
 Drake's Massachusetts Cincinnati.

In Cambridge :

Miscellaneous Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library.

In Hartford :

Connecticut Colonial Records.
 The Connecticut War Archives.
 Hartford Probate Records.
 Wethersfield Town Records.
 Wethersfield Church Records.
 Newington Records.
 Camps' History of New Britain.

In Worcester :

Worcester Magazine.
 Massachusetts Spy (Antiquarian Society, Worcester).
 Garrison's Orders (Antiquarian Society, Worcester).
 General Schuyler's Orderly-book.
 Captain Cushing's Orderly-book.
 Washington's Diary.

More than 250 volumes were consulted, but these are the only ones in which anything was found. Most of the information had been copied from one to the other.

J

THE PATERSON GENEALOGY.

The Paterson family, as has been mentioned, is of Scotch descent. There are at the present time, according to Burke's Peerage, seven families in Scotland whose armorial bearings show that they are related to one another. Five of those families spell the name with one *t*, one spells it with either one or two, while only one spells it with two. There is no

record that any ancestor or member of General Paterson's family ever spelled the name with more than one *t*. It is so spelled by his grandfather, father, and himself. In the records of the county of Hartford, Conn., and in some of the printed documents and notices, the name is sometimes spelled with two *t's*; but it must be remembered that these cannot be taken as authority. They are the spelling of clerks who were sometimes so careless that the name is spelled both ways in the same document.* In former centuries but little attention was paid to the spelling of names, it being considered as of very little importance. Instances have been known where from sheer carelessness the names of families have become so altered in the spelling as to have become in less than three centuries scarcely recognizable. This carelessness in spelling has made the searches in documents very difficult, and in one or two instances a search lasting many months, carried on in the libraries of three different cities, has finally proven that the person referred to in the document was not General John Paterson, but a member of an entirely different family. Several times persons wishing to aid me have sent me references to a British officer of the same name. There was a British Colonel Paterson serving in and about New York and Boston while John Paterson was a colonel, and this same officer was made a general, and served in and about New York while General John Paterson was on duty in the Highlands. But these are only a few of the difficulties that have arisen. Frequently the wrong spelling of the name has made it so difficult to distinguish the person that without strong corroborative evidence the incident would have had to be thrown out. Once a fact that had been accepted and published as true had to be discarded, as the official records showed that General Paterson at the time was in a different State.

General Paterson's descendants are now scattered all over this country. It has not been easy to find the addresses of all of them, but in order to get the requisite information persons living from Vermont to the southern part of California have been corresponded with. Nothing like a complete record has ever before been made. A manuscript containing an imperfect record was prepared by the late Dr. Charles Seymour; after his death it passed into the hands of the late Dr. William Patterson, and is now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society of Hartford, Conn.; but it is very incomplete, and lacks entirely the record of two or three of General Paterson's children. This record is more complete than any that has been made up to this time. That it is not entirely complete is owing to the impossibility of getting the information,

* In July, 1892, I had occasion to show on pages 8 and 9 of volume xxiii. of the Record of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, in an article on Major Azariah Egleston, that the name "Bagot" was spelled nineteen different ways, and sometimes three ways in the same document.

although more than two years have been spent in collecting it. In compiling this genealogical tree two conflicting dates have frequently been sent to me, in which case the date given by the greatest number of persons, or that which seems to have the best authority, has been accepted. Some of the descendants have been at great pains to furnish the records of their branches. I am especially indebted to Mrs. R. Bates, of Parma Center, N. Y. ; Mrs. Harriet Shelton, of Topeka, Kan. ; Mrs. F. Bemis, of Davenport, Ia. ; Mrs. F. G. Dean, of Newark Valley, N. Y. ; Mr. H. Wistar Rugg, of Olean, N. Y. ; Dr. M. L. Baxter, of Derby Line, Vt. ; Mrs. F. V. Woodbury, of Pasadena, Cal. ; and Miss M. P. Kilborn, of Spencerport, N. Y.

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